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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Gerasimov Labels Accord 'Breakthrough' *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 22 Sep]* 1
Zhukov Sees 'Reason for Hope' on Accord *[PRAVDA 23 Sep]* 2
Mikhaylov Views U.S. ABM Interpretation 3
SDI's Problems, Potential Examined *[IZVESTIYA 8 Sep]* 4
Drobkov Hits U.S. SDI Moves After Accord *[PRAVDA 22 Sep]* 6
NATO Urged To Build up To Offset INF Curbs *[Kornilov in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Sep]* 6

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

PRAVDA Assesses CEMA Executive Session *[Krushinskiy, 18 Sep]* 8
FEC'S Pejovski Talks With USSR's Antonov *[TANJUG]* 8
BCP Discusses CEMA Economic Meeting *[PRAVDA 6 Sep]* 8
PZPR Politburo Discusses CEMA Integration *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 11 Sep]N* 9
Factors Curbing CEMA Science Program Noted *[Krushinskiy in PRAVDA 7 Sep]* 9

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Foreign Ministry Press Briefing Reported 12
Gorbachev 'Feeling Fine' 12
Reaction to Reagan Speech 12
Missile Reduction Timetable 12
Missile 'Arrangement' 12
Agenda for 'Joint Actions' 13
'Jarring' French Reaction 13
'Regret' for Barents Collision 14
'Contacts' on Iraq-Iran 14
Experts Missing in Libya 14
Shevardnadze Meets European Counterparts 14
'More Realistic View' in Reagan Speech *[PRAVDA 23 Sep]* 16
Gorbachev Article, USSR-U.S. Talks Viewed
DRA's Wakil Criticizes Reagan's UN Speech 16
CSCE Vienna Meeting Resumes Work 22 Sep 17

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

'New Stage' Seen in U.S.-USSR Relations *[Koryavin in IZVESTIYA 22 Sep]* 18
U.S.-Soviet Television Linkup Reportage 18
Preparations, Previews 18
Weapons Levels Discussed 19
Verification Questions 20
Ponomarev on Shultz-Shevardnadze Talks *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Sep]* 20
'Top Priority' Views Impending Arms Accord *[Kuznetsov, Bogdanov, Plekhanov]* 22
Senate Panel's Report on ABM Treaty Noted *[IZVESTIYA 22 Sep]* 25
Pentagon Developing New Military Satellites 26
Weinberger Preaches Anti-Soviet Stereotypes *[Matveyev in IZVESTIYA 17 Sep]* 26
Reagan-Arias Contra Aid Talks Reported 26
U.S. Press Views Bush Role in Arming Contras 26

China

Seminar Debates Economy, Soviet Reforms *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 15 Sep]* 27
PRC's Search for Chinese Brand of Socialism *[PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 28
USSR, PRC Planning Experts Confer 4-17 Sep *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 29
IZVESTIYA on PRC's Asia-Pacific Policy *[IZVESTIYA 10 Sep]* 29
Cocom Pressure Breaks Japan-PRC Deals *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 11 Sep]* 31
PRC Envoy to U.S. Cited on Taiwan Issue
'New Type' Satellite Launched, Landed 31

Northeast Asia

USSR Apologizes for Airspace Violation *[KYODO]* 32
Reagan, Nakasone Discuss Gulf, Economy 32
Dolgikh Begins Visit to Mongolia 32
Departs Moscow *[PRAVDA 22 Sep]* 32
Meets Batmonh 33
UN-Bound MPR Aide Stops Over in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 20 Sep]* 33

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Persian Gulf Incidents 33
'Emptiness' of Reagan Words *[Gan in PRAVDA 23 Sep]* 33
IZVESTIYA on Attack *[23 Sep]* 33
Shevardnadze on Ship Attack 34
Mines Found on Ship 34
Tehran Radio Report Cited 34
IRNA Reports Attack 34
Commentary Views Attack *[Solovyev]* 34
U.S. Frigate Fires Warning Shots 35
Envoy to Rome on Gulf, Gorbachev *[ANSA]* 35
U.S. Role in Gulf, Settlement Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Sep]* 35
Official on Gulf War, Soviet Stand *[KUNA]* 36

Sub-Saharan Africa

U.S. Plans To Send Stingers to Chad *[PRAVDA 18 Sep]* 37
More on Zaykov Activities in Ethiopia 37
Attends Parade 37
Visits Tractor Plant 38
Meets PDRY's Al-Bid 38
Delegation Ends Visit 38

East Europe

Zhivkov Hails U.S.-USSR Arms Understanding 39
Bulgarian Envoy Speaks on National Day 39
Joint Bulgarian Chemical Association Set Up *[PRAVDA 6 Sep]* 40
PRAVDA Details Current Reforms in Bulgaria
GDR Daily Calls Honecker FRG Trip 'Success' *[PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 40
GDR Official Hails USSR Energy Cooperation *[Pashenkin in IZVESTIYA 11 Sep]* 43
SFRY's Pozderac Resigns Over Economic Affair *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 15 Sep]* 43
RSFSR Delegation Visits Montenegro *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 Sep]* 43
CPCZ'S Havelin, Yakovlev Meet in Moscow *[CTK]* 44
IZVESTIYA Views CSSR Price-Reform Theory *[Kornilov, 16 Sep]* 44
PPR Spokesman Assesses Gorbachev Article 45
Gusev Receives Polish Minister Grzywa *[IZVESTIYA 11 Sep]* 45
PZPR'S Baryla Visits, Received by Yakovlev *[PRAVDA 10 Sep]* 45
Warsaw City PZPR Delegation Ends Visit *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 10 Sep]* 45

West Europe

U.S. Military Presence Threat to Turkey *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Sep]* 46
UK Protests Iranian Attack on Ship 47
DER SPIEGEL Interviews Thatcher on Arms 47
Supreme Soviet Greets Belgian King 48
PRAVDA Chief Editor's News Conference *[Paris LE MONDE 17 Sep]* 48
French Media Institutions Sign Protocol *[IZVESTIYA 18 Sep]* 49

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua Suspends Combat Operations 49
Press Restrictions Lifted 49
Reconciliation Commission 49
Ramirez on Contra Dialogue 50

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Gromyko Presents State Awards in Kremlin 51
Kiev Daily on Afghanistan War Dead *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 6 Sep]* 51
Problem of Illegal Liquor Examined 52
Kiev Paper Analyzes Causes of Drunkenness *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 13 Sep]* 52
New Smolensk Obkom Leader Interviewed *[PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 53
Afanasyev Writes on Soviet Change, Past *[MOSCOW NEWS 13 Sep]* 56
Latvian Poet Views National Identity, Culture *[PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 58

Economic

Statistician Views Machine-Building Ills 60
Official on Price Reform, Farm Subsidies *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 17 Sep]* 61
Development of Cooperatives Urged *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 17 Sep]* 64

Agricultural

Results in Bukhara Oblast Criticized *[Tashkent]* 66
Grain Harvest Figures Reported 67
Khmelnitskiy, Chernigov Oblasts *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 1 Sep]* 67
Cherkassy Oblast *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 22 Sep]* 67
Lithuania Fulfills Plan *[PRAVDA 22 Sep]* 67
Belorussia: Mogilev Oblast *[PRAVDA 22 Sep]* 67
Media Report 20-22 Sep Developments 67

Scientific

Further Reportage on 'Mir' Complex 68
Cosmonauts Continue Work 68
'Kvant' Registers X-Ray Emission 69
'Progress-31' Separates 69
'Burned' in Atmosphere 69

Military

Yazov Visits Guards Tank Regiment *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Sep]* 69
General on Role of Tanks in Modern Warfare *[TRUD 13 Sep]* 69

Gerasimov Labels Accord 'Breakthrough'

PM221541 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 22 Sep 87 p 7

[Article by Observer Gennadiy Gerasimov under the "World on Tuesday" rubric: "Breakthrough"]

[Text] New York—A significant event has occurred in Washington: the Soviet Union and the United States have reached an accord to eliminate medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. Details remained to be resolved, and some will not be easy.

There is a saying that details are a devil of a problem—in other words, that is where the snags may occur. It is the problem of the three "d's": diplomats, details, and devil. The diplomats have to iron out the details in the 4 weeks remaining before the next meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state, this time in Moscow.

Both jokingly (perhaps only half-jokingly) agreed that if the diplomats do not cope with the details they will have to be sacked, because it now depends on them whether the long-awaited breakthrough in Soviet-U.S. relations takes place. The word "breakthrough" is appropriate here: For the first time an agreement is being concluded on the theme of "a farewell to arms." This may only apply to medium-range and operational-tactical missiles at the moment, but even so the U.S. side has spent around $9 billion on these weapons. We have probably spent a good deal, too. Around 2,000 weapons in these two classes will be turned into high-quality scrap metal and the two sides will have nothing left of them but a bitter and unpleasant memory.

The Rubicon of nuclear disarmament will have been crossed. Until now people have only talked about it. From time to time agreements have been concluded, but on arms control, not nuclear disarmament. These agreements placed certain restrictions on the stockpiling of lethal weaponry. But military-technical invention led to more and more new temptations, offering increasingly subtle technical ways of dispatching mankind to the afterlife.

The breakthrough is not a great one; it affects only 3-4 percent of the two powers' existing nuclear arsenals. It does not apply to strategic armaments, and inasmuch as the United States has refused to observe the limits of the SALT II Treaty, it is possible in theory to compensate by adding to the arsenals. Some U.S. commentators note that the Soviet Union could also add ICBM's targeted "within the continent" to its own arsenal and thus cover those targets in Europe currently in the sights of the missiles that are to be scrapped. Accordingly, they warn that this first step has no military significance of its own and is only a beginning.

They are right. The diplomats have also been instructed to accelerate the drafting of an agreement to reduce strategic offensive arms by half (to begin with).

Apart from specific differences on sublevels, counting systems, and so forth, there is the question here of retaining the ABM Treaty. If we begin to disarm on earth while the United States begins deploying weapons in space a dangerous imbalance will occur.

But given the mutual striving to reach an agreement on strategic offensive arms reduction, it can be a reality as early as the first half of next year.

This point was made in M.S. Gorbachev's article "The Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World," which was published in *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*. The article aroused great interest here with its predicted time scale for the conclusion of possible agreements and with its explanation of the Soviet approach to the problems of the modern world. The article thus pointed in a timely manner to the place and role of the Washington talks in the broader context of the search for new rules of cohabitation on our planet which correspond to new needs and changed conditions.

Our restructuring is clearly having the same effect on U.S. views of the Soviet Union. "Colossal changes have taken place in 3 years," U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz said during one of the many interviews he has given in the past few days. True, he was asked whether it is possible to talk about detente again. Shultz replied: "There are signs of movement. I would not want to label it." Be that as it may, the Americans seem to be ridding themselves of their built-in fear of what was only recently a formidable secret enemy, persistently inviting them to be partners in a society for mutual salvation from the nuclear danger.

Now we have the first "important breakthrough," as Senator E. Kennedy called the results of the Soviet-U.S. talks.

In America there are, of course, fundamental opponents of any accords with the Soviet Union. H. Kissinger, for instance, saw this not as a breakthrough but the "beginning of our movement down a dangerous steep slope." The opponents' current arguments are as follows: The elimination of the missiles will weaken the defense of Europe and the U.S. commitments to the defense of West Europe, and will entail increased spending on conventional armed forces. There is also the argument that "The Russians cannot be trusted." However, the opponents of an agreement have become quieter now. Perhaps they are waiting for some incident capable of derailing what has been achieved. Perhaps they are grouping their forces to fight the ratification of a possible agreement. There are currently about 20 opponents of a future treaty in the U.S. Senate. If that number rises to 34 (or one-third of the total number of senators), the treaty will not become law. Hence, the discussion will heat up in the weeks and months ahead.

But the important thing has been done. The Soviet Union and the United States have demonstrated that the idea of nuclear disarmament can be realized. It only remains to be understood that it is in both sides' interests.

Zhukov Sees 'Reason for Hope' on Accord

PM221805 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 87 First Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA political observer Yuriy Zhukov: "Moment of Truth"]

[Text] These days people at home and abroad are everywhere energetically discussing the news from Washington: As a result of the 3 days of talks between the leaders of the USSR and U.S. foreign policy departments an important accord has been reached. The sides have agreed in principle to conclude a treaty on the total elimination of all U.S. and Soviet medium-range and operational-tactical nuclear missiles.

Our readers are already familiar with the reactions to this accord now being voiced by many heads of state and government, political party leaders, representatives of the public, and political commentators. The vast majority of them approve of the agreement. But skeptical voices can also be heard; some people are expressing negative views.

Once again, on studying the diverse Western press commentaries, you cannot help remembering Vladimir Mayakovskiy's lines—written, it is true, in a very different context, but entirely applicable to such commentaries: "The water in the tap is extremely cold. The other tap you cannot touch with your hand... On one tap it says: 'C,' and on the other—'H'..." Those who control the taps from which the torrents of words flow are subjecting public opinion to indoctrination in whatever direction they choose.

But one way or the other, nobody can deny that the Washington talks culminated in important results and paved the way to an agreement which is called upon to play an important role in the modern world. What is known as the moment of truth has now come, when everyone has to define his position clearly and precisely.

Let us try to study objectively what happened in the course of the talks which lasted more than 6 years, why an accord at last became possible, and what it promises for the future. First of all let us say: Whatever the temptation to give way to euphoria because the signing of a treaty is now really within reach, it should be recalled; much work still lies ahead.

As for the very nature of the political process which resulted in the attainment of an accord in Washington, it seems that we can say confidently that its successful development was due to the mutual interest, ever more marked in its effects, in the success of the task that had been embarked on.

The new way of thinking, dictated by a realistic assessment of what is happening around us, marked by an unprejudiced attitude to others, and permeated with an awareness of everyone's own responsibility, is gradually—even if not as rapidly as we would like—winning over the minds of the people who are responsible for the future of their countries and peoples. It is only fair to note that over the years both sides have gone a considerable way to meet each other in working on the resolution of the problem of ending the nuclear arms race.

We do not close our eyes to the vast and truly irreconcilable contradictions between the two sociopolitical systems to which the USSR and the United States belong. But for all that, we both have a shared vital interest in survival in the dangerous nuclear missile age. There is nothing more pointless or more futile than trying to count up points, as if in a sports match—who wins and who loses if nuclear missiles are destroyed. Everyone wins, mankind wins!

The Washington Post wrote last Monday that "in order to reach an accord in principle on a new American-Soviet agreement in the disarmament sphere," which was announced on 18 September, the U.S. President "traveled a long and difficult path." "The fact that the President softened his characteristic anticommunist tone," the newspaper noted in this connection, "is not a sign of a new, 'soft' approach to communism on his part. It indicates that he is now prepared to deal with the Soviet Union as a legitimate, rival superpower..."

Of course, it would be unforgivably naive to suppose that the people at the helm of states can change their ideological positions for the sake of achieving this or that interstate agreement, however important. Accords of this kind are achieved on the basis of realities that have to be dealt with. Here the quest for an accord proceeds on the basis of open dialogue.

Looking back at the path traveled in recent years, it was precisely this kind of dialogue that brought the two sides to the far-reaching accords that are now being welcomed throughout the world. The Geneva summit meeting, the Reykjavik summit meeting, the forthcoming USSR-U.S. summit meeting—these are the major milestones which marked the two sides' difficult and complex progress toward mutual understanding and the elaboration of positions which accord with the interests of not only the USSR and the United States, but all countries.

We must add to this the fruitful dialogue which has developed in recent years at all levels of the two sides' state and political apparatus. We must also add, finally, the dialogue which has developed successfully between the widest public circles in East and West—between scientists, personalities in culture, and participants in the peace movement. "People's diplomacy"—that is how this political phenomenon, which has helped to overcome the alienation of countries and peoples belonging to different social systems, will go down in the history of the last quarter of the 20th century.

Mutual interests require that this dialogue continue.

M.S. Gorbachev, in his article "Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World"—published, as USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze noted at his press conference in

Washington, at a highly critical moment and offering powerful moral support in the struggle for a successful outcome to the talks—expressed the conviction that a treaty on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles could be drawn up before the end of this year. Then, the article says, this treaty would be a good prelude to progress at the talks on large-scale reductions—by 50 percent—in strategic offensive arms under the conditions of strict compliance with the ABM Treaty.

Now that finalization of a treaty on intermediate missiles has begun and the moment of truth I mentioned at the beginning of the article has come, everyone must clearly state how he views the way forward.

It is difficult now to publicly oppose agreements on further progress toward a nuclear-free world. Anyone who reiterated now that there are more important things than peace and tried to reassure his compatriots with cock-and-bull stories to the effect that part of the world's population would survive in the event of a nuclear war, but communism would be incinerated, could expect a resounding election defeat.

So the covert opponents of further progress along the path to a nuclear-free world are selecting more cunning arguments. They offer assurances that nuclear weapons are not a military but a political means of safeguarding security, and allegedly would never be used. Apparently they help to avoid a world war. That being so, there is no way this "guarantee of peace" can be relinquished.

At this point I would like in all candor to say the following: Those who are currently swimming against the current by publicly advocating the preservation of this false, lethal "guarantee" are taking on a truly grave responsibility. I am not talking about the U.S. generals who will fight to the last against nuclear disarmament. I am far more worried by something else: A number of prominent Western, especially U.S., figures, who are perfectly well aware how pernicious the "nuclear deterrence" and "flexible response" doctrine is, are nonetheless prepared, for certain reasons, to attack accords safeguarding long-term national interests.

For example, this position was adopted in an 18 September television appearance by Henry Kissinger, who, as U.S. secretary of state, worked vigorously on preparing the SALT II Treaty. If anyone, he should know perfectly well what kind of a threat nuclear war is to mankind. Nevertheless Kissinger felt free to declare: **"As soon as the 'zero' principle is adopted as a desirable goal, the foundation (!) of Western defense in its present form will be destroyed."** [boldface as published].

These arguments, intended for the ill-informed reader, his ears buzzing with the glorification of the "nuclear guarantee of security," are clearly dictated by certain calculations of significance in terms of domestic political maneuvers. But one wonders whether a self-respecting political figure has the right at this moment of truth to place these calculations above national and, moreover, general human interests?

But Kissinger is not alone. Two Republican figures intending to run for the presidency—Congressman J. Kemp (Florida) [as published] and former Governor of Delaware P. DuPont—have already criticized R. Reagan for agreeing in principle to conclude a treaty on eliminating two classes of nuclear weapons. Congress is in an uproar. According to Senator A. Cranston, who is in favor of a treaty, there are at least 22 conservatives in the Senate who are prepared to resort to parliamentary obstruction tactics to prevent ratification of the treaty if it is signed.

We cannot ignore these facts. The Soviet public has not forgotten the way the United States treats signed interstate agreements. The treaties on underground nuclear explosions, signed back in 1974 and 1976, have still not been ratified in the United States. The United States has simply renounced the SALT II Treaty. The treaty of indefinite duration on limiting ABM systems, although ratified in 1974, is now under attack.

Clearly, considerable effort will be needed to, first, bring the preparation and signing of the treaty on eliminating medium-range and operational-tactical missiles to a successful conclusion and, second, ensure its prompt ratification and implementation. The Soviet side is prepared to do all it can to ensure the successful completion of the work that has been started. But it is not acting as a petitioner; its indefatigable initiatives are dictated by concern for strengthening general security. This concern is shared by the broadest circles of the world public, including Americans.

So there is every reason for hope that through common efforts the work the participants of the Soviet-U.S. talks are now resuming in Geneva will be successfully completed. Then the way will be clear for important new actions in the struggle to create an all-embracing system of international peace and security, the plan for which the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries are now putting foward at the UN General Assembly session.

Mikhaylov Views U.S. ABM Interpretation

LD231014 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

The ABM Treaty has only one interpreation and any attempts to confuse its substance are inadmissible, according to Konstantin Mikhaylov, a deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Arms Control and Disarmament Department.

The cause behind the "new interpretations" of the ABM Treaty is clear: They have been directly connected with the Pentagon's intention, announced by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, to stage SDI-related tests next year, which will clearly run counter to the treaty, Mikhaylov said in a TASS interview.

Reluctant to shoulder direct responsibility for breaking yet another agreement limiting the strategic arms race, in Washington they are busy inventing all kind of legal

grounds so that, on the one hand, to violate the ABM Treaty and, on the other, not to recognize this bluntly, he continued.

They want, in particular, to justify the U.S. intention to pursue various efforts in the field of ABM defense, excepting only the direct deployment of such systems, which under current plans is to begin in 1994, or in seven years' time, Mikhaylov said.

To agree to the treaty's revision today is clearing the way to an arms race in outer space and making cuts in strategic offensive arms impossible. The logic and simple common sense prompt this conclusion: The ABM Treaty, which is among the linchpins of strategic stability and a prerequisite for reducing nuclear weapons and eventually eliminating them altogether, must be preserved, Mikhaylov stressed.

Any talks regarding it may not touch upon the key provisions of the regime of limiting anti-ballistic missile defense systems, he said further.

Talking about the precise creteria of its observation is another matter, the Soviet expert added.

The Soviet side has made concrete proposals, namely ones for confining efforts in this field to within laboratories on earth—in institutes, at testing ranges and at factories—and for hammering out the criteria of devices banned for launching into space irrespective of their purpose. These criteria will form the divide between banned and allowed efforts in the field of ABM defense and help remove possible disagreements over compliance with the treaty, Mikhaylov said further.

Despite all juridical trickery, attempts at freely interpreting the ABM Treaty are basically illegal and therefore do not have the right to exist either from the standpoint of international law or even from the standpoint of the domestic legislation of the United States as well. This has been pointed out, in particular, by a recent report by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which stressed that the adoption by the U.S. Administration of a new interpretation for a ratified treaty is a violation of the Senate's constitutional powers.

SDI's Problems, Potential Examined

PM160927 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Likhovid article: "SDI: Parameters Change But the Aims Are the Same"]

[Text] The actions of the present U.S. leadership clearly show that the "Strategic Defense Initiative" announced 4 years ago by President R. Reagan firmly occupies a central place in its military-political course. The significance attached to it by the White House is explained by its potential impact on the correlation of Soviet and U.S. strategic forces, the course of the dialogue on questions of arms limitation and disarmament, and the development of USSR-U.S. relations. Presented as a defensive doctrine, from the very beginning SDI has been conceived as a strategic concept for securing superiority over the Soviet Union and as a philosophy of pressure.

However, the situation regarding the program's implementation is not taking shape entirely as Washington would wish. There is growing opposition to the "Star Wars" plans, which is particularly apparent in Congress; the U.S. allies' attitude to it is ambivalent; and academics are becoming increasingly critical.

It must be pointed out that, although Congress previously cut appropriations for this program, expenditure on it increases with every year. The Pentagon has already swallowed up $9.2 billion on its implementation.

The SDI program is in the early stages. Officials responsible for squeezing money out of Congress keep talking about significant achievements in the SDI program, but there has been no dramatic breakthrough.

Specialists recognize there has been some technical progress in a number of the 3,000 or more contracts concluded to date. But there is a vast distance between success in individual projects such as, for example, the creation of microelements, optical devices, and a cryogenic cooling system, and success in the entire program to create an echeloned ABM system.

The task of intercepting missiles during the boost phase is still proving hard to solve. It is one thing to burn a missile at a test site with a laser and another thing entirely to hit hundreds of ballistic missiles from orbital stations from a distance of thousands of kilometers in a matter of a few seconds. The experiment carried out with the "Titan" missile showed that a laser beam's wavelength is too long for it to serve as a weapon.

The authors of SDI also cannot find an answer to the problem of ensuring the invulnerability of orbital ABM facilities, whose Achilles heel is the predictability of their location: They can be observed from earth and watched from space, and consequently constantly targeted.

As a result of these difficulties, many projects have been held up, reoriented, or canceled altogether. For example, the development [razrabotki] of an infrared sensor in the guidance system and a space-based chemical laser has been abandoned.

Directed energy weapons, particularly free-electron lasers, used to be thought of as the most promising strike systems. Now, however, what has come to the fore is accelerated development [razrabotki] of kinetic weapons: antimissile missiles and homing projectiles capable of destroying a target with force of impact. They would be launched from earth or from orbital combat stations.

Nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers have failed to live up to the Pentagon's hopes, as their destructive force is too low to combat warheads and missiles. They are, nevertheless, a highly effective means of knocking out targets like

orbital stations, satellites, and sensors. But they are a double-edged sword: Though it is intended to neutralize the other side's systems, the X-ray laser could be a threat to the Americans' own space facilities in orbit. Nonetheless, the United States continues to count on it, currently regarding its prime task not as destroying missiles but identifying the real warheads among the dummies by irradiating the targets with an X-ray laser and picking up their subsequent radiation emission.

Against the background of these problems there are also others whose complexity was previously underestimated or deliberately concealed. Take, for example, the time and expense connected with placing an ABM system in orbit. According to some figures, the United States would have to deploy 100,000 tonnes of payloads in space for its ABM system, which is 200 times more than it is now capable of launching per year. It would require 5,000 shuttle flights, and expenditure on transportation alone would be in the region of 600 billion dollars.

Under these conditions, considerations of a technical nature play a far from minor role in SDI's reorientation from space-based to ground-based systems and from directed energy weapons to the development of systems based on traditional technology—minimissiles and miniprojectiles. Concluding that it is impossible to create an ABM system that is 100 percent reliable, Pentagon specialists have given up the idea of an impenetrable shield in exchange for a so-called dedicated [obyektovyy] ABM system which could perform limited tasks: defending ICBM silos, control centers, and so forth.

At the same time, debate has intensified in the United States regarding the early deployment of an echeloned ABM space system. The Pentagon is in favor of this and has proposed a three-phase deployment. In the first phase it is proposed to deploy space-based and land-based kinetic weapon systems in conjunction with sensory devices in geostationary orbits and probes to detect ballistic missiles launched from earth. Additional detection and warning facilities would be placed in space in the second phase, and also orbital stations armed with antimissile missiles. In the third phase the ABM system would be equipped with "exotic" strike facilities.

The White House and the Pentagon claim that SDI's implementation will guarantee the United States an important breakthrough in various technological areas, act as a catalyst for a "third industrial revolution," and lead to new technological solutions which could be used extensively for civilian needs. But the civilian industrial sector can expect little from beam weapons. The maximum demand for lasers in civilian sectors is far lower than the SDI program's minimum requirements. What peaceful use could an electromagnetic gun have? At the same time, the technology connected with the production of this kind of gun could find extensive application: In particular, the new ceramic materials developed for its barrel could compete successfully in the automotive or aviation industry. But in that case would it not be more sensible to immediately use material and intellectual resources to create equipment designed for peaceful rather than military purposes?

The civilian sectors are showing little interest in the SDI program's technology because of its complexity and enormous cost. Military equipment is distinguished by special characteristics since it must possess very high indicators and be extremely reliable durable. The complexity of military equipment also accounts for its high cost. An integrated circuit for military use, according to U.S. figures, is 5-10 times more expensive than a similar device for use in the civilian sector and, as quality demands are high, rejects sometimes reach 90 percent. Given the nature of American competition, such low productivity could bankrupt civilian production.

The SDI program stands on its own and is geared toward manufacturing products for military purposes. The technology developed as part of this program is designed to solve destructive rather than constructive tasks. Given its specific purpose, special features, and qualitative parameters, such as strike capability, power, range, and capacity for use in space, the program's technology is unusable in civilian sectors.

The nuclear aspects of the SDI program are becoming increasingly public, despite Washington's claims that the program is nonnuclear. The systems developed as part of the program which are based on using the energy produced by a nuclear explosion represent a new generation of nuclear weapons, including directed energy weapons.

The project to create a nuclear-pumped X-ray laser has become widely known. The possibilities of nuclear radiation affecting warheads and the ability of orbital stations to function in the conditions of a nuclear war in space are being studied. One of the projects being considered involves the development [razrabotka] of a device based on energy produced by a nuclear explosion to destroy dummy warheads by bombarding them with a stream of liquid or solid particles accelerated to ultrahigh speeds. In other words, it is a question of work on a new weapon system.

The danger posed by the "Star Wars" plans to the cause of peace and disarmament is obvious. At the same time, the Soviet Union has nothing to fear from the SDI program in military respects. As M.S. Gorbachev noted when addressing U.S. readers, "the USSR will be able to create an anti-SDI program that is asymmetrical and not as expensive as the U.S. program. What is more, we will be able to implement it more quickly than the American 'Star Wars' program. But we do not want to do this. SDI and anti-SDI will only perpetuate the arms race, which will prove impossible to control."

Drobkov Hits U.S. SDI Moves After Accord

PM221101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 87 Second Edition p 5

[Vladislav Drobkov "Commentator's Column": "Where the 'Echelon' Is Being Moved To"]

[Text] It is probably already traditional: As soon as there are any positive developments in Soviet-U.S. relations or as soon as real prospects open up for reaching agreements limiting or reversing the arms race, the upper levels of the U.S. Administration start openly or secretly opposing it.

That is what has happened now. Hardly had E.A. Shevardnadze's talks with R. Reagan and G. Shultz—which removed a number of obstacles in the way of a Soviet-U.S. accord on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical nuclear missiles—ended, than it was reported that C. Weinberger had approved a test program for the first echelon elements of an ABM system. Yet another step is thus being taken toward switching the Pentagon to "Star Wars." In practice this will take the form of a "demonstration" of a whole series of arms and control systems (missile interceptors and guidance, communications, and control systems) from the arsenal of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI).

The Pentagon and its contractors in the U.S. military-industrial complex are prepared to embark in the very near future on carrying out the test program. They are clearly in a hurry for fear that the warming of the international climate will pose a threat to SDI and at the same time jeopardize the arms producers' profits. According to recently published UPI figures, the first phase of SDI, in which a chain of around 300 space battle stations is planned, could cost 100 billion dollars.

The important question is whether this "echelon" will not retard the whole cause of arms reduction and trample underfoot the ABM Treaty, which is an important element in international stability. It is no secret—and this has again been plainly stated by U.S. leaders in Washington—that the USSR consistently advocates the strict and unswerving observance of this treaty. But the start of the test program sanctioned by C. Weinberger, even in the assessment of U.S. specialists and public figures, threatens to undermine the ABM Treaty.

It is worth noting that during the very same period the Senate Foreign Relations Committee published a report resolutely rejecting the administration's attempts to arbitrarily interpret the provisions of this document and to prove that it permits the testing of SDI elements.

The Senate committee report and other sober appeals against the testing of SDI elements have not, however, cooled the ardor of those who adhere to this dangerous venture. As National Security Adviser F. Carlucci stated, "we have never made any secret of our position over SDI. We intend to develop it as soon as possible and to deploy it when it is ready." He also confirmed that the United States is counting on implementing SDI even if agreement is reached with the USSR on strategic arms.

This, it must be said, is a strange position. As can be seen, Washington is unable to understand that it is impossible to simultaneously reduce nuclear arms on earth while pushing ahead with a sinister "Star Wars" "echelon" in space. Or does it not want to understand?

NATO Urged To Buildup To Offset INF Curbs

PM181149 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Sep 87 First Edition p 5

[Yu. Kornilov article: "Strategy of the Absurd"]

[Text] The USSR and the United States are really close to an agreement as a result of which it could become possible, for the first time in history, to destroy forever two classes of nuclear arms. This brings joy to all who value peace and security for the peoples. But some people are asking: Is there any way to exploit the actual fact of the preparation of a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles, to frighten West Europe with the mythical Soviet threat which, it is claimed, "will intensify" if U.S. missiles are withdrawn from its territory?

No sooner thought of than done. Speaking in Fallingbostel (FRG), where the latest NATO maneuvers are being held, U.S. General Galvin, NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, told a press conference that the conclusion of an agreement on the elimination of medium-range missiles would apparently mean "a greater threat for NATO countries." What is to be done about it? The general has a ready prescription: If the Geneva talks end in success, NATO must take "urgent measures" to consolidate its might by building up conventional arms. Furthermore, the elimination of medium-range missiles—in the event an agreement is reached—should take place "over several years rather than over a few months." This really is a "strategy of flexible response," which is actually more reminiscent of some sort of "strategy of the absurd": The agreement on elimination of medium-range missiles is still to come, numerous difficulties still have to be overcome on the way, but the supervigilant NATO general is already sounding the alarm.

"He who lies is unaware of the difficulty of his task, because he will have to lie twenty times more to maintain his first lie," the British poet Alexander Pope said. As a matter of fact, the adversaries of disarmament are prepared for multiple lies: No sooner had Western news agencies managed to inform the world of Galvin's bellicose calls when the "baton of intimidation" was picked up by Pentagon chief C. Weinberger. He used the pages of *The Los Angeles Times* to frighten ordinary people with "the perfidy of Moscow" which, he claims, "on the one hand declares its readiness to undertake significant arms reduction, while on the other hand builds up its superiority over NATO in all categories of conventional forces."

According to custom, the right-wing bourgeois press has picked up and is promoting at various levels the militarist postulates knocked together by the Pentagon and

NATO. For example, Britain's ultraconservative *Daily Telegraph*, in a long article devoted to the Soviet-U.S. talks on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles, urges that NATO should already be concerned with replacing medium-range missiles. What does it have in mind? There is no secret here: The press reports that both the Pentagon and NATO are already working on specific plans to site new U.S. bombers in Britain....

"Peace grows with difficulty in the rocky soil of the 20th century," former President R. Nixon noted. While giving due credit to the originality of this phrase, let us note, however, that the rocky soil in question is not primordial. It was created and is being created artificially, thanks to the diligence of militarist circles in the West. Even today, on the threshold of possible agreements, NATO "hawks" like Gen Galvin and Pentagon chief Weinberger and others of their ilk are trying to trample the good shoots of detente...

PRAVDA Assesses CEMA Executive Session

PM220751 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 87 Second Edition p 5

[Andrey Krushinskiy "Commentator's Column": "Time Is Pressing"]

[Text] In the states of the fraternal socialist community the question of the need to improve the economic cooperation mechanism is being actively raised. This was discussed at the recent conference of Central Committee secretaries for economic questions of the CEMA countries' communist and workers parties, and at a number of important meetings in the CEMA sphere. This theme also occupied a prominent place in the work of the 124th CEMA Executive Committee session in Moscow 14-15 September. The communique published yesterday made the particular point that the Executive Committee discussed proposals on restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation, socialist economic integration, and CEMA's activity.

Why is such a restructuring necessary? The fact is that despite the obvious achievements of the international socialist division of labor, its potential is still not being fully utilized. Even though reciprocal commodity exchange within CEMA has increased more than six-fold in the last 15 years alone, the proportion of cooperative output here is considerably lower than in the EEC countries, for example. Questions of all-around intensification are now being highlighted in the fraternal socialist community states. Under these conditions it is not enough simply to increase gross export and import figures. The most important task is to step up the joint efforts aimed at introducing scientific and technical achievements, and at increasing the competitiveness of output.

It was in a spirit of realism and criticism that the 124th Executive Committee session examined progress in fulfilling the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. It is well known that this large-scale program, in which about 1,500 organizations and industrial enterprises are participating, promotes the organic combination of science and production and the spread of specialization and production sharing.

In the course of the program's implementation, however, it has become clear for all to see that there are a number of deficiencies in the cooperation mechanism, its planning and commodity-money instruments, and in currency, financial, and credit relations. That is why in a number of cases economic initiative is being shackled and the introduction of innovations is being slowed down. The Executive Committee session communique indicated the need to take effective measures to ensure that the work being done within the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 reaches the highest level of scientific and technical development. The Executive Committee examined other cooperation questions in the light of the changes taking place in the fraternal countries' economies.

The improvement of the socialist economic integration mechanism is designed to bring into play many previously unused reserves. This will undoubtedly benefit each of the fraternal countries individually and the community as a whole.

FEC'S Pejovski Talks With USSR's Antonov

LD162323 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0922 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—Mito Pejovski, member of the Federal Executive Council and Yugoslavia's permanent representative in CEMA, had talks today with Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Soviet Union's permanent representative in CEMA.

Reference was made to Yugoslav-CEMA cooperation and the coming reorganization of this international economic organization. Pejovski and Antonov also discussed topical issues of Yugoslav-Soviet economic cooperation, and in particular ways of overcoming the existing imbalance in trade between the two countries and of resolving the issue of Soviet debts to Yugoslavia.

BCP Discusses CEMA Economic Meeting

PM111241 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS dispatch "In Line with Common Interests"]

[Text] Sofia, 5 Sep—A report has been circulated here on the results of a discussion by the BCP Central Committee Politburo concerning the outcome of the conference of Central Committee secretaries for economic questions from the CEMA member countries' communist and workers parties held in Sofia.

The report notes that the conference was an important step in the implementation of the accords reached at the working meeting of the fraternal parties' leaders in Moscow in November 1986, and the restructuring of the mechanism of CEMA cooperation, socialist economic integration, and activity in keeping with the collective interests of the socialist community countries.

The BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the document says, attach great importance to the restructuring of CEMA'S activities. The BCP Central Committee Politburo has instructed Secretariat and Politburo commissions and BCP Central Committee departments to adopt effective measures to improve party work in the sphere of collaboration with fraternal socialist countries. The competent state organs have been advised to work purposefully toward deepening Bulgaria's participation in socialist economic integration, especially its collaboration with the USSR on the basis of the utilization of new effective forms of cooperation.

PZPR Politburo Discusses CEMA Integration N

PM170841 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Sep 87 p 3

[TASS report: "PZPR Central Committee Politburo Session"]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Sep—Poland has a deep interest in further intensifying cooperation, particularly, in deepening direct ties among economic, scientific, and technical organizations in CEMA countries and in restructuring CEMA's integration mechanisms, structures, and organs. This idea is particularly stressed in the report published here on a routine session of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. After studying an information report on the Sofia conference of secretaries of CEMA countries' communist and workers parties dealing with economic questions, the Politburo noted that the conference was an important landmark in preparation for the 43d CEMA Session. Poland is seeking to create new integration mechanisms that combine the principles of cooperation in planning with radical enhancement of the role played by economic instruments.

The session pointed out the close link existing between the economic reform being carried out in Poland and the processes of restructuring and transformations in economic management taking place in the USSR and other CEMA countries.

After a briefing on the progress of the country's central economic development plan for the current year, the Politburo noted that most of its quantitative targets are being met.

The Politburo stressed the need to adopt resolute measures to achieve a balanced economy and intensify its qualitative transformations. It proposed that the government speed up preparations and submit as soon as possible a specific program for the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform.

Factors Curbing CEMA Science Program Noted

PM141309 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 87 Second Edition p 5

[A. Krushinskiy article under the "Community" rubric: "A Bird in the Hand?—Continuing the Discussion on the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress"]

[Text] In response to a previous *Pravda* item on the problems facing the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, V. Aleksandrov from Moscow made the following point: "Why has there been no answer to the important question raised in the article of just who specifically (which institution and its leaders) is retarding our cooperation with the other socialist countries and thereby hindering technical progress and restructuring?"

I recall that in the article, which dealt with the situation in one of the five priority directions of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 ("new materials"), criticism was leveled at the work being done to fulfill the program. The example of Giredmet [the State Scientific Research and Planning Institute of the Rare Metals Industry] in particular was used to show how departments of superior rank restrict the rights and initiative of those directly responsible for getting things done. On the very day the article was published a telephone call came "rebutting" the claim. "I did not say those things!" said Yu. Ozerov, a Giredmet staffer quoted in the article. It turned out that messengers had suddenly appeared from the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and put the pressure on, and now the man in question was retracting the criticism of the ministry, forgetting that the interview had been recorded on a dictating machine.

Several months later, when preparing an item on work in another of the five priority directions of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 ("comprehensive automation"), I found a similar "psychological phenomenon." I asked Yu. Kozyrev, chief of the Automation Department of the State Committee for Science and Technology, to assess the pace of the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, and he refused: If you say it is satisfactory, he said, they call you a conservative, but if you say it is unsatisfactory, they accuse you of belittling existing achievements...

Can the most important thing really be that there should be no conflicts in official relations? Can the goal set by the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000—the collective attainment of advanced levels of social production in collaboration with the other CEMA countries—be achieved without destroying such a mentality? I discussed that question with N. Kuznetsov, deputy director of the Institute of Management Problems. Here is the picture he painted.

Comprehensive automation is justifiably highlighted as one of the program's priority directions. It is now the decisive trend in the organization of modern production throughout the world. For example, the introduction of means of automation is really snowballing. The development and operation of flexible production systems began in the CEMA countries at virtually the same time as in the West—back in the seventies. But in the developed capitalist states the mean time between failures of individual automation components (machine tools with digital program control, processing centers, and industrial robots) is close to 10,000 hours, whereas in the CEMA countries the poor quality of electronic components means that it is rarely above 3,000 hours, and in a number of cases it is many tens of times below the world average.

Why? Apart from the failure to appreciate microelectronics which occurred here, the lack of coordination among the CEMA countries also helped create the lag. While the leading Western producers of highly competitive automation systems regularly expanded cooperation, each European CEMA country created its own

scientific research and experimental design base and its own base for the production of microelectronic components, which in every case trailed 1-1 and 1/2 generations behind the world standard.

In such a situation is it permissible to relax or to console ourselves with the claim that "we are starting from scratch"? A revolutionary restructuring of the mechanism of economic integration is essential and the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 helps that.

The very word "comprehensive" rebuts the narrow departmental approach to the management of scientific and technical progress. The comprehensive targeted approach is typical of the program as a whole and each of the 97 problems in it taken individually. After all, many technological innovations can no longer be confined to a single sector but cross the divide between sectors. Each of the problems raised by the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 is surrounded by a large and complicated mosaic of partners that the principal organizations are expected to "cement" together.

...With regard to a number of indicators, ENIMS (a science and production association for metal-cutting machine tools) is one of the best parent organizations: It has already signed 12 contracts on direct ties and created 2 permanent international design bureaus, and the "Interrobot" international organization was set up on its initiative.

Perhaps the greatest number of surprises awaits the uninitiated inside the "Consultative Information Center for Electro-physico-chemical Methods of Materials Processing" or "EPC department," as it is known for short.

Imagine the following scene: a small machine tool, on it a steel blank with a wire stretching above it and between the two a continuous, blindingly white spark. That fine wire, like a fretsaw, is cutting out the "pattern" of a complex component.

Here, I was told, they use nontraditional methods of shaping materials using concentrated beams of energy—light, sound, and electrical beams. In this instance the wire serves as the electrode. The charges between it and the component—a hundred thousand miniature "bolts of lightning" per second—generate a temperature capable of cutting through any material. Thus it is possible to resolve problems of technological equipment production in a revolutionary way.

"Is this method an innovation?"

"No, although we were pioneers in this field," B. Mechetner, the head of the "EPC department," replied. "The first electroerosion machine tools appeared in the USSR 40 years ago when other countries had not even thought of them. The Swiss asked for a license but the Ministry of Foreign Trade delayed until they had built their own and further equipped it with up-to-date digital program control. In Japan machine tools of this kind have already replaced milling machines—they are producing 5,000 a year! We are trying to catch up..."

"In quantity?"

"Not only in quantity. Even though we sold three licenses to Switzerland, the FRG, and Italy for one subassembly this year, for example, we ourselves still do not have a world class machine tool ourselves, unfortunately..."

The day before, V. Yefimov, chief of the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry's Main Technical Administration, told me that 98.5 percent of the developments carried out by the sector's subdivisions within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 are up to world standards. Yet it transpires that the design engineers themselves do not share that optimism. But how is cooperation with the fraternal countries progressing? I was told that Czechoslovakia has experience in the "wire" and ultrasonic methods of working materials, and that it also has the high-quality piezoceramics necessary for such equipment. The Hungarians have begun producing generators. There are plans to cooperate with Bulgaria in "metal-plating" machine tools (as in electroforming). Yes, the advantages of cooperation are understood here. But the impression created is that my interlocutors are attracted to this cooperation not so much by the prospect of the joint improvement of design as by the possibility of using their friends' production potential. With their help they want to supply our domestic market with "EPC"-type machine tools, since there is a great demand for them—people will grab them eagerly even though our products are somewhat below world standard. But as the proverb says: "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." As we shall see later, however, even that "bird in the hand" is not guaranteed.

What changes has the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 made to my interlocutors' life? "In the past we had to wait 6 months to go on a trip abroad, now it only takes 2 weeks to draw up the documents," one said. "And within the country the prestige of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 helps to cross many hurdles."

"Not all of them, unfortunately," someone else sighed. "Do you know what our current problem is? How to obtain a flexible plastic hose for electroerosion machine tools to drain off water! They are produced in Batumi—for vacuum cleaners. They had 1,000 spare hoses left over there. But they cannot sell them to us because the law forbids the industrial use of consumer goods. If we have to use a metal hose the machine tool will be heavier, and that is a step backward in the struggle for competitiveness..."

Thus we returned to the problem of mechanization in the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 or, more precisely, the question of the functions of its central element—the parent organization. Let us begin with the fact that the very document defining its status is out of date. As I was told at the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, a new draft statute on the parent organization is now being prepared that envisages empowering it to independently resolve all cooperation questions up to and including drawing up the product mix of cooperatively-produced supplies, price coordination, and so forth. In that way the rights which have already been or are being created thanks to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers August 1986 resolution on the democratization of foreign economic cooperation will be given legal form. But there are so many more barriers to overcome!

Within the country parent organizations still do not possess real means of influencing their partners. Especially since many ministries often refuse to involve subordinate organizations in the work of "other departments."

The stumbling block in the international sphere is price formation; for various reasons prices for industrial output are higher in a number of other CEMA countries than here. Prices there are often closer to the world price. What difficulties does this present?

Scientific research and experimental design work can be financed centrally up to and including the creation of a prototype, I was told at the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry. In 1988, however, a number of joint developments are due to be released just as our enterprises switch to self-financing. The high prices for cooperatively-produced output are contrary to labor collectives' interests...

A serious question—CEMA's organs have work to do there. But quite a lot also depends on the producers themselves: On the one hand, if coproduced machine tools prove competitive they will be a fitting replacement for equipment previously imported for hard currency and, on the other hand, they can be sold in third countries. There is your compensation for increasing the cost of components! If the circulation of mediocre equipment (albeit in demand within the country) is developed "under the brand" of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, the additional cost will turn into irrecoverable losses and harm cooperation on a number of important problems relating to the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. And that will not be a "bird in the hand" at all.... The problems of price formation and quality do not end here, furthermore—they should be discussed in their own right.

Thus it transpires that there is no simple answer to the question put logically and precisely by the *Pravda* reader. There are, unfortunately, quite a few "brakes" impeding the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000: economic, organizational, and psychological ones. But that is what makes it worthwhile, makes it necessary to develop a model of efficient economic management, and encourages the vigorous search for ways to improve socialist integration methods.

Foreign Ministry Press Briefing Reported

Gorbachev 'Feeling Fine'

LD221207 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, asked by an American journalist, said at today's briefing that Mikhail Gorabchev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was now on holiday and was feeling fine.

Reaction to Reagan Speech

LD221232 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan's speech to the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly has left a mixed impression because of its contradictoriness and its equation of key international problems with matters much less important, Boris Pyadyshev, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said today.

Speaking at a briefing here, Pyadyshev, who is first deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, explained that one could only hail Reagan's words that the United States was "heartened by new prospects for improvement in East-West and particularly U.S.-Soviet relations." One could only be encouraged by Reagan's statement that "we look forward to a time when things we now regard as sources of friction and even danger can become examples of cooperation between ourselves and the Soviet Union."

"But we had hoped that the U.S. President's speech would present the American leadership's analysis of the real situation in the world in a spirit of new political thinking," Pyadyshev added.

"We had wanted to hear in the President's speech an adequate response to the ideas and considerations concerning the doctrine of a nuclear-free and secure world as summarized, in particular, in Mikhail Gorbachev's article 'Reality and the Guarantees of a Secure World'," he said further.

"In a situation where the outline of mutual trust has begun to emerge, it is especially unacceptable when the real state of things, including the Soviet Union's position on the situation in the Persian Gulf, on the situation regarding Afghanistan and Nicaragua and on some other important problems, is deliberately distorted," Pyadyshev added.

"It does not become the President even more so to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. It was unwarranted for the President to teach us what glasnost is and how it should be effected. The speech showed an obvious desire to compromise the processes of profound democratization, which are under way in the Soviet Union," he said.

"Although Reaganism remains Reaganism, some changes for the better can still be detected in Washington after the Republicans' seven years in office. But these changes have so far been too small and slow," Pyadyshev said in conclusion.

Missile Reduction Timetable

LD221630 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Excerpts] In Moscow today, at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center, a briefing was held for Soviet and foreign journalists. A considerable part of it was devoted to the outcome of the talks in Washington between Comrade Shevardnadze, USSR foreign affairs minister and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, and the accord they reached. The briefing was held by Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In part, he said: [passage omitted item]

A topic for agreement is the stages involved in reduction. We are in favor of removing, in the course of 1 year, the nuclear charges from the missiles subject to destruction. Our idea is to make the missiles useless weapons from the very start of the reduction process.

Another problem that will have to be solved by the Soviet and U.S. delegations in Geneva is the timetable for reduction. The United States proposes eliminating shorter-range missiles within 1 year, and medium-range missiles within 3 years. In principle we are ready to destroy the missiles,we are ready to cooperate most extensively with the Americans, right up to U.S. experts' taking part in studying the possibility of deactivating Soviet missiles.

Missile 'Arrangement'

LD221513 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 12 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—The arrangement reached during the Washington talks of the USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze with the American leaders on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles is the first major practical result of the reorganization in the foreign policy, First Deputy Chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Boris Pyadyshev said at a briefing here today.

Much remains to be done to turn that arrangement into a full-blooded treaty. We are aware of the complexities of political nature in the United States. We see elements of specific attitude to the arrangement in some NATO countries, though on the whole the attitude is very favourable. The delegation in Geneva are faced with intensive work to resolve remaining technical issues.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said: In our opinion—and the U.S. side agrees with this—the order of the day for joint actions should look as follows:

To conclude within a month the drafting of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles,

To sum up the results of this process at the coming meeting of the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in Moscow in October and to discuss other questions, including strategic offensive arms and the ABM Treaty,

And, finally, the main event: The summit meeting to sign the agreement on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and to discuss the fundamental questions of relations between the USSR and the USA.

Dwelling on details of the implementation of the agreement B. Pyadyshev noted that the U.S. side is in favour of keeping intermediate-range missiles operational at a proportionately lowering level throughout the period of reductions. Meanwhile we declare for removing in the course of one year nuclear charges from all the missiles to be destroyed and thus precluding their combat use. The United States proposes to eliminate shorter-range missiles within one year and intermediate-range missiles in the course of three years, he went on to say. We are prepared for such a schedule if this is possible in view of technical and ecological considerations. Otherwise a longer period will be needed. It was stipulated that the question of schedules will be discussed in the framework of the talks in Geneva. Anyway the delegations must prepare the text of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles by the ministers' meeting in October.

Regrettably, the sides have not yet been able to bring much closer the stands on a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the USA in conditions of a strict observance of the ABM Treaty, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The Soviet side took in Washington a major step toward compromise by proclaiming the readiness to limit the number of nuclear charges on any kinds of strategic offensive arms by 60 per cent of their total number of 6,000 units. The USA, however, continued advancing the demand for setting such sublevels as would lead to an unjustifiable break-up of the structure of the Soviet strategic offensive arms.

As to the consolidation of the ABM Treaty regime, we believe it is the main task to agree on the non-use of the right to abandon the treaty for at least ten years. This would ensure the necessary guarantees of making 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms. The American side has not yet given an answer to this constructive proposal of ours, B. Pyadyshev said. The United States has not determined its stand also on the proposal to discuss the question of consolidating the ABM Treaty regime during the talks of the defence ministers of the USSR and the USA in the framework of the Soviet-American standing consultative commission.

Agenda for 'Joint Actions'

LD221213 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 22 Sep 87

(Text) Moscow September 22 TASS—The agreement reached by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze during his talks in Washington with the U.S. leaders on eliminating two classes of nuclear missiles is the first major practical result of the retructuring in foreign policy, Boris Pyadyshev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry, told a briefing here today.

Much is yet to be done to make this agreement into a full-blown treaty. We are fully aware of the difficulties in the domestic political situation in the United States. We see elements of peculiar attitude to the agreement in some NATO countries, although reaction is favourable on the whole. Delegations in Geneva face intensive work to coordinate separate technical issues.

It is our belief, the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said, and the American side agrees with us, that the agenda of joint actions should look in the following way:

—to conclude the drafting of a treaty of medium- and shorter-range missiles within the month.

—to sum up the results of this process and discuss other issues, including strategic offensive weapons and the ABM Treaty, at a meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in Moscow in October.

—finally, the main event—the summit meeting to sign the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles and discuss main issues concerning Soviet-U.S. relations.

'Jarring' French Reaction

LD221400 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS — The initial official reaction in Paris to the Soviet-U.S. understanding in principle to eliminate intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles across the globe has been in jarring dissonance with comments on that important event in the capitals of other West European countries. Boris Pyadyshev, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said today.

Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here that some observers even spoke of France having effectively found itself in isolation among its Western allies once again, despite its efforts after Reykjavik to avoid a repetition of such a situation.

"French opponents of this important understanding claim that the Soviet-U.S. agreement will give the USSR a strategic advantage. How come? The agreement, they explain, will result in the dismantling of the only missiles capable of reaching Soviet territory from Western Europe and it is West Europeans, it is believed in these quarters, that will have to pay for this.

"In short, the first comments by France at government level have differed unfavorably from the opinions expressed by the leaderships of other Western countries," Pyadyshev said.

"Instead of clearly defining its attitude to the commencement of the process of nuclear disarmament in the world, the French Government is making its choice in favor of stressing the limited nature of the first accords, while planning for itself practical measures which have nothing to do with disarmament but run directly counter to the emerging positive process," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

'Regret' for Barents Collision

LD221332 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—A Soviet commission investigating the September 13 incident over the Barents Sea has established that it has been caused by incorrect actions by both Soviet and Norwegian pilots, Boris Pyadyshev, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said today.

Pyadyshev, who is first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told newsmen at a briefing here that the Soviet fighter had violated instructions in the flight operations manual by getting his plane too close to the Norwegian aircraft.

The Norwegian plane, for its part, had, he said, executed dangerous maneuvers towards the fighter and varied speed abruptly.

"On the basis of the investigation, the Soviet side recognizes the fact of unpremeditated, incorrect actions by the Soviet fighter and expresses regret on this score.

"Simultaneously, the attention of the Norwegian side is called to the dangerous actions of the Norwegian Orion plane and the hope is expressed that a recurrence will not be allowed.

"The Norwegian Government has received these Soviet explanations with understanding and now both the Soviet side and the Norwegian side regard this incident as over and closed," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

'Contacts' on Iraq-Iran

LD221222 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 22 Sep 87

[quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—"In connection with the Soviet Union's recent active contacts on issues of the Iran-Iraq conflict and the situation in that region on the whole, some Western quarters are speculating that the USSR has departed from its course on those questions," Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

"Concoctions of this kind," he emphasized, "are totally groundless. Those who fabricate and spread them would surely want to drive in a wedge between the USSR and the Arab countries and sow doubts as to the sincerity and principledness of our Middle East policy."

The Soviet Union, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, did not practise "double diplomacy" and had no grounds whatsoever to change its attitude to that war, the more so for it affected its own interests, seriously undermined the USSR's efforts to improve the overall international climate and created an explosive situation in the region located in direct proximity to the Soviet borders.

As to the Soviet Union's bilateral relations with Iran, he said, "We give them serious attention. For us, it is a bordering nation and we would like to live with it as good neighbours.

At the same time, the Soviet Union's policy has never aimed at building relations with any country to the detriment of the interests of another state or group of states.

This fully applies to our friendly ties with Iraq. This is our principled position and it is known to all," Pyadyshev emphasized.

Experts Missing in Libya

LD221306 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Precise information has been received that the Soviet military specialists who have been reported missing in Libya had perished during the hostilities on the territory of that country, a briefing today was told by Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

These specialists were sent to Libya to help in servicing military equipment, Boris Pyadyshev went on. The Soviet side has reported their death to the countries and organisations that had taken part in finding out the fate of these Soviet specialists and expressed gratitude for their participation.

Shevardnadze Meets European Counterparts

LD230929 Moscow TASS in English 0858 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 23 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Tuesday had a meeting with Finnish Foreign Minister Kalevi Sorsa.

It was pointed out that the relationship of friendship, goodneighborliness and mutually beneficial partnership between the two countries is an example of cooperation in the present-day complicated, contradictory and yet interrelated world.

As pressing international problems on the agenda of the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly were discussed, the Soviet side set forth a doctrine for building a nuclear-free and secure world, which had been formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev in an article on September 17.

Sorsa spoke highly of the constructive ideas voiced in that document and expressed a positive opinion of the concept for a comprehensive system of international peace and security, which had been suggested in the United Nations by socialist countries.

During Shevardnadze's meeting with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy federal chancellor and foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, a thorough exchange of opinions took place on a wide range of pressing international problems.

The Soviet side said that the commitment by the FRG Government not to modernize Pershing-1A missiles, to liquidate them and not to replace them with other systems had in a measure facilitated the attainment of the Soviet-U.S. understanding in principle to sign an agreement on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

The hope was expressed that the FRG would continue taking part in an international search for ways of preventing war, either nuclear or conventional, enhancing general security in Europe and in the world as a whole, and concluding further agreements on disarmament.

The common view was expressed that the Soviet-West German conversations and talks in Moscow last July set the necessary tone to the political dialogue between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany. It is now essential to use this positive impetus, shunt the statements on intentions onto the language of concrete deeds. It was noted from the Soviet side that the ussr was prepared for this and given reciprocal movement cooperation of our countries could assume new dynamics.

Eduard Shevardnadze met British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe. In the light of the results of the Soviet-British summit meeting in Moscow they noted a broadening of the political dialogue between the USSR and Britain, which gradually assumes the nature of the joint quest for solutions to ripe international problems.

The attention of Geoffrey Howe was drawn to Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to all members of the world community to shape by joint effort the model of ensuring international security. In this connection, the hope was expressed that Britain would constructively participate in considering at the 42nd U.N. General Assembly session the proposal by socialist countries on a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The sides noted the importance of the Soviet-American agreement reached in principle on medium-range and shorter-range missiles and declared for achieving further positive shifts in the cause of disarmament, for developing and deepening the CSCE process and ameliorating the situation in various parts of the world.

An urgent need was stressed for removing the military danger in the Persian Gulf region and for taking energetic efforts by the United Nations organisation in favour of ending the Iran-Iraq conflict.

During the Soviet foreign minister's meeting with his Italian opposite number Giulio Andreotti a common interest was voiced in continuing extensive political dialogue and developing mutually useful Soviet-Italian cooperation.

The ministers called for a practical realization of the Soviet-U.S. understanding on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, for resolving without delay the problem of reducing strategic offensive arms, and for banning chemical weapons as soon as possible.

The need was pointed out for more active work at the Vienna followup meeting, especially on the military aspects of security in Europe, and for its conclusion with meaningful positive results.

As notes were compared on regional problems, stress was made on the necessity of demonstrating restraint, political common sense and responsibility, especially in connection with developments in the Persian Gulf, and on the importance of enhancing the role of the United Nations, making it more efficient and fulfilling security council decisions.

Shevardnadze met with Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez.

The Spanish side expressed satisfaction with real prospects for the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement to abolish intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez pointed to the consonance of many ideas voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his *Pravda* article with the Spanish approach to dealing with the key problems of the times.

The ministers paid special attention to the issue of strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe and expressed themselves in favor of the Vienna followup meeting ending with substantial constructive accords.

They reiterated readiness to continue broadening Soviet-Spanish political dialogue as an important factor in European political life.

Shevardnadze met with Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt, to discuss various aspects of bilateral relations, a Middle East settlement, and the situation in the Persian Gulf.

Stress was made on the importance of convening an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all sides concerned and the permanent members of the Security Council as the sole reasonable way of achieving a lasting peace and stability in the region. An understanding was reached to continue exchanging opinions on a Middle East settlement.

The sides pointed to a common interest in continuing and consolidating political contacts and developing Soviet-Egyptian relations in various fields.

'More Realistic View' in Reagan Speech

PM221557 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 87 Second Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondents N. Prozhogin and V. Sukhoy: "Overcoming Stereotypes. General Political Discussion Has Begun at 52d UN General Assembly Session"]

[Excerpt] New York 22 Sep—The heads of delegations to the United Nations, this most representative international organization, will be speaking out on the most important problems of the world today.

It is now tradition that at the start of the general political discussion the floor of the General Assembly is given to the U.S. President, as head of the state on whose territory the UN headquarters is situated. It is natural that in the present conditions, when a positive trend has appeared in international affairs, his speech should be awaited here with particular interest. Unfortunately, these expectations have not been fully satisfied.

Having rightly noted the need for the members of the international community to jointly resolve the tasks facing them, the U.S. President then assumed a didactic tone, however, telling other governments which policy they should take. He devoted a considerable proportion of his speech to discussing democracy and human rights. In this respect the President did not refrain from attacking those countries whose political systems do not correspond to his ideas on democracy.

In the final part of his speech R. Reagan dwelt on the question of East-West relations and, in particular, U.S.-Soviet relations. One can only welcome his appeal that the political problems dividing our countries be resolved by peaceful means. The president highly appraised the principled accord reached recently on the question of eliminating medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. He voiced the hope that the corresponding treaty—which he termed "truly historic"—would be signed in the near future during the next Soviet-American summit meeting.

Taking R. Reagan's speech as a whole, it should be noted that it contained some signs of a more realistic view than before, at least with regard to certain urgent, topical international problems. However, it must also be pointed out that the stereotypes produced by the long period of confrontation are still strong in Washington. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Article, USSR-U.S. Talks Viewed

PM230939 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[Reports by PRAVDA correspondents V. Gaa, V. Linnik, N. Prozhogin: "Voice of Reason and Goodwill, Close Attention"]

[Text] New York—Here, in this building on East River famous throughout the world, they know the value of words. More empty words have probably spouted forth in the myriad of speeches given here than water has flowed in the river running past the UN building. The only thing that would surprise the representatives of the 159 countries gathered in New York would be words that mean business.

Precisely this impression has been created here by M.S. Gorbachev's article published in *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* and, for this reason, it is now the subject of discussion at the 42d UN General Assembly session.

The article by the Soviet leader has attracted attention by its serious, considered tone and breadth of approach to the problem of seeking peace and comprehensive security, the absence of false claims to knowledge of the ultimate truth, and respect for the collective reason of the world community. Moreover, particular interest has been aroused by the specific proposals put forward in the article that are aimed at enhancing the efficiency and authority of the United Nations, a universal, international organization.

Attention has been drawn here to M.S. Gorbachev's ideas of creating a mechanism under the aegis of the United Nations to ensure extensive international verification of the fulfillment of agreements to reduce international tension.

Washington—"The foundations are now being laid for raising Soviet-American relations to a new level." This remark was made by a Washington journalist and may serve as an epigraph to the eventful last few days, when we witnessed potentially important changes in relations between the two great powers. This is an impression shared by many observers here. The word "optimism" has become one of the most widely used here; after all, the article by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was full of it. All the leading American press bodies without exception have brought the article's contents to the attention of their readers.

"The article by the Soviet leader is regarded as a major Soviet statement on international security," according to *The Washington Times*, which is close to the U.S. Administration. It gives a detailed account of the article's key features.

In particular, the newspapers highlight the phrase in the article that says we already have the "bricks and mortar" to start building a future security system. The truth of this statement has also been convincingly confirmed by the results of the talks held in the last 3 days in Washington between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. These talks focused on a broad range of problems concerning relations between our two countries—relations on which the political atmosphere in the world largely depends.

It would be rash, of course, to claim that these noted improvements have provoked a uniform reaction on the Potomac. The present stage in Soviet-American relations

and the possibility of concluding very important agreements have noticeably invigorated opposition by those forces that have no wish to hear of any moves whatsoever to strengthen international peace and security. According to *The Washington Times*, a serious conflict has erupted between the State Department and the Pentagon over arms control policy. It is no secret that, fulfilling the political will of the powerful military-industrial complex, its Pentagon agents are trying to block the achievement of mutually acceptable agreements. "The military is alarmed," CBS-TV reported today. "The head of the U.S. Strategic Air Command, for example, has said that if the missiles are removed from Europe it will recommend that a large number of B-52 strategic bombers be stationed there."

Only time will tell how this confrontation will end.

DRA's Wakil Criticizes Reagan's UN Speech

LD220906 Moscow TASS in English 0633 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 22 TASS—'Abdol Wakil, Afghan foreign minister and head of the Afghan delegation, called President Reagan's speech at the 42nd U.N. General Assembly as a manifestation of diktat and full absence of flexibility in the approach to a solution of regional conflicts. No matter what area of the world is in question—southern Africa, Central America, the Middle East or the Afghanistan situation, Washington approaches questions of settling complicated disputes, proceeding only from its own imperialist interests, Wakil told TASS correspondents. The President did not conceal that Washington would, in future too, back the undeclared war against the Afghan people and take actions aimed at scuttling the process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan. Such a position of the U.S. Administration is regrettable, noted the Afghan foreign minister.

CSCE Vienna Meeting Resumes Work 22 Sep

LD221111 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Vienna September 22 TASS—The Vienna meeting of representatives of the states participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe resumed its work here today.

The principal task of the current round is to prepare an agreed text of the meeting's final document which is to record agreements on promoting the Helsinki process in all its directions, continuing the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament and starting new talks on conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Today's plenary session showed that Mikhail Gorbachev's article "The Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World" has evoked great response among the delegates to the meeting.

The delegations positively assess the results of the recent Soviet-American talks on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles. Hopes are being cherished here in this connection that the overall situation in Europe will improve and the Vienna meeting will be a success.

The head of the Soviet delegation, Yuriy Kashlev, pointed out in his speech the logical relationship between the Soviet leadership's programme of action and the essence and structure of the Helsinki process, including military-political, economic, ecological and humanitarian directions.

In this context, Europe can and should make its contribution to establishing a comprehensive system of international peace and security. Precisely this aim is being pursued by the Soviet Union at the Vienna meeting.

United States & Canada

'New Stage' Seen in U.S.-USSR Relations

PM221545 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch: "Washington: Main Topic: Focus on Disarmament Issues and Soviet-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] Washington—There is currently one main topic in Washington political circles: disarmament and Soviet-U.S. relations. Naturally, debate over recent events linked to the talks between Soviet and U.S. representatives on the main issue of concern to mankind today was not confined to the capital; it extended throughout the country. The echo of last week is intensifying. Politicians, representatives of the public, and the U.S. press and television are continuing to actively discuss this "crucial, positive, optimistic process," as the new stage now prevailing in Soviet-U.S. relations is being described by political observers.

On Sundays the U.S. mass media usually sum up the week in politics. Well known observer David Brinkley's "This Week" program and others were devoted to this topic. Their general mood was optimistic, their main conclusion that things have begun moving on the disarmament problem. This was confirmed, for instance, in a CBS interview with U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz and National Security Adviser F. Carlucci. President R. Reagan's regular radio broadcast was devoted to the question of a Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. It is believed here that the treaty will be the main theme of his UN speech as well.

Even quite recently the USSR's constructive proposals on discussions on the main question of disarmament were met with a hail of demagogic arguments about "human rights," and artificial obstacles were created out of secondary problems. The picture is different now. The recent press conference by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and the meetings with the press by President R. Reagan and Secretary of State G. Shultz were almost totally devoted to the subject of disarmament and the prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations.

After the USSR foreign minister's press conference I talked with my U.S. colleagues. Don Oberdorfer, the well known observer for *The Washington Post* who has witnessed almost all the most important Soviet-U.S. contacts over the last decade, particularly highlighted the present stage in these relations. As he put it, "for the first time there has been progress in the sphere of eliminating nuclear arms." W. Andrews, the CBS Moscow correspondent who specifically flew to Washington to cover the Soviet-U.S. talks, is also optimistic. "Progress, a step forward, a new stage," were his concise conclusions. The overwhelming majority of local observers have pointed to a "qualitatively new period in U.S.-Soviet relations."

But there are also other voices in Washington that are clearly not in accord with the logic of the steps being taken in the disarmament sphere. However, new facts have emerged here too. The subject of disarmament is so topical and vitally necessary that directly attacking it would clearly be a political disadvantage in the eyes of U.S. public opinion, all the more so since the question of disarmament and relations with the Soviet Union is becoming part of the extensive election campaign that is beginning in the United States. That is why the opponents of the disarmament process are camouflaging their positions and appealing for "various stipulations" and "clarifications" with regard to the balance of power which will exist between the United States and the USSR after the conclusion of the treaty. They are again resurrecting questions of conventional arms and the problem of verification [proverka], even though the Soviet Union has given exhaustive and constructive replies to these questions.

There are even different opinions within the Republican Party. According to opinion polls G. Bush is currently its leading presidential hopeful. He is trailed, for instance, by Congressman J. Kemp and P. DuPont, former governor of Delaware. All three have just participated in the work of the National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs Convention in Orlando, battling for their votes. The audience applauded G. Bush's statement on the prospects for a Soviet-U.S. treaty. Kemp and Du Pont, who take a negative view of this agreement, decided not to openly criticize it from the rostrum, but engaged in strenuous behind-the-scenes activity in an attempt to work on voters individually and scare them, using the same old stereotypes about "verification" [proverka] and the myth of Soviet superiority in conventional arms.

U.S.-Soviet Television Linkup Reportage

Preparations, Previews

LD210948 Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—A space TV hookup at 0730 Moscow time on September 23 (2330 Washington time on September 22) will bring together Soviet and U.S. parliamentarians—members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and U.S. congressmen.

Television viewers will be able for the first time to watch their dialogue live in the first show of the "New Thinking in the Nuclear Age" series sponsored by the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting (Gosteleradio) and U.S. ABC television in cooperation with the Internews TV network.

The subject of the show will be international security and disarmament. The following two programs slated for October 15 and November 19 will deal with regional conflicts and human rights.

The Soviet participants will include Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the general staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, a vice-president of the Academy of

Sciences of the USSR, Georgiy Korniyenko, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The U.S. participants will be Democratic Senator from Georgia Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Democratic Representative from Wisconsin Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and Republican Representative from Mississippi Trent Lott, leader of the minority in Congress.

Unlike American TV audiences, Soviet ones have been able to watch a trial linkup show involving American and Soviet parliamentarians, which was taped on April 25 and later shown on national television here.

That get-acquainted program was purely preparatory one, but the desire to continue having such dialogues through space and looking for ways of achieving mutual understanding in front of their nations has since been voiced in their numerous press comments by representatives of both countries taking part in the show.

Congresswoman Claudine Schneider stressed, for instance, that whether on the U.S. part or on the Soviet part, fears and lack of understanding about the intentions of the other side were most dangerous, and so no task was more urgent than trying to understand each other as human beings.

The first show, to be hosted in the Kremlin, will have a large guest audience, including MP's and Soviet and American newsmen. New York State Governor Mario Cuomo and the U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack Matlock, have also been invited to attend.

The discussion will be preceded by the screening of documentary sequences reflecting what both sides believe is worrying people concerned about the future of the planet.

The series will open with film footage showing a boy pianist in Moscow and a girl violinist in Washington sounding chords to produce a harmonious, hope-inspiring melody, a sonata for a piano and a violin.

Weapons Levels Discussed

LD230639 Moscow TASS in English 0615 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, one of the two chambers of the Soviet parliament—the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, today identified the main contradiction in the world over the past decades as the failure of political thinking and solutions to contentious issues to keep peace with scientific and technological progress which is directly reflected in the entire military sphere.

Tolkunov was speaking in the first-ever live television linkup panel showing involving Soviet and U.S. parliamentarians, which was shown simultaneously in the two countries.

Noting continuous efforts across the world to develop ever more lethal systems for mass annihilation, he said:

"We can see on the horizon the possibility of a complete destruction of life on earth. This is why the question is where mankind should find a way out.

"In our view, it is in absolutely new political approaches to resolving these problems, in a new manner of political thinking.

"It is imperative to change over to political solutions to conflict situations, most notably to the scrapping of nuclear weapons.

"Nuclear disarmament, which the USSR has suggested completing by century's end, will enable humanity to enter a fundamentally new era."

In this connection the Soviet MP welcomed the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan and the possible signing of a treaty to eliminate intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

Answering a question from the U.S. co-mediator of the program, Peter Jennings, Tolkunov said the next practical steps along the path of disarmament could include measures rooted in Reykjavik, first of all halving strategic offensive arms which had been among the issues discussed in Washington by Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz as well.

"If we preserve the ABM treaty," he said, "we shall be able to cut strategic offensive arms by 50 percent."

Speaking after Tolkunov, Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, agreed with him about the importance of concluding an agreement on strategic offensive arms.

Marshal Akhromeyev of the Soviet Union dismissed as a "legend" the American side's claims that there is a disbalance in conventional arms in Europe to the advantage of the Warsaw Treaty.

"We believe that there is a rough parity in this field: Whereas the Warsaw Treaty countries, say, have more tanks, NATO has a margin of superiority in strike aircraft and helicopter gunships," he said.

"To come to terms on this problem, the Soviet Union proposed way back 18 months ago sitting down at the negotiating table, but the United States has not agreed to that idea to this day," Marshal Akhromeyev added.

Congressman Trent Lott, however, still insisted that there was an "asymmetry" in conventional weaponry in Europe in favor of socialist nations, but he agreed on the need for talks on the issue.

Another subject touched upon during the show was the problem of strengthening mutual trust as an essential condition for putting the relationship between the two countries right.

Soviet Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov pointed in this connection to the importance of practical steps such as a joint experiment into nuclear test monitoring by Soviet and U.S. seismic scientists in the area of Semipalatinsk and a visit by American specialists to a radar in Krasnoyarsk in eastern Siberia.

"We should keep moving in this direction to free the political process, the process of nuclear disarmament, of technical matters and enable it to develop unimpeded," Academician Velikhov said.

Verification Questions

LD230826 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—The Soviet Union has pledged not to be the first to start either nuclear or conventional war under any circumstances, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, said today.

He was answering a question from U.S. Senator Sam Nunn about the possibility of preventing nuclear war in the first-ever television linkup show involving Soviet and U.S. parliamentarians, which was shown live in the two countries today.

"But if war is unleashed with conventional weapons, the probability that it will not escalate into a nuclear conflict in present-day conditions is getting ever smaller," Marshal Akhromeyev said.

He explained that the USSR and the United States had hundreds of nuclear power stations, which could be destroyed with unpredictable consequences in conventional war as well, and that in combat conditions there could be unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.

Touching on the political aspect of this problem, MP Georgiy Korniyenko, first deputy head of the International Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's Central Committee said:

"What should be at issue is not how to keep conventional war within non-nuclear limits, but how to prevent conventional war altogether, while doing away with nuclear weapons.

"We talk about creating a comprehensive system of international security, with such legal guarantees and under such a low level of conventional armed forces and armaments as would rule out the possibility of any war.

"We are not idealists, but realists. And yet we believe that this can be achieved."

The path towards the goal, in the opinion of Soviet parliamentarians, lies through confidence-building measures.

In this connection MP Sergey Losev recalled how for years Washington had demanded the most stringent verification arrangements, including on-site inspections, and how it had frustrated talks and refused to declare a moratorium on nuclear explosions on the pretext that verification measures did not go far enough.

"However, now that the USSR has declared its intention to press for the most stringent verification system, including on-site inspections without the right to refuse them, the White House has backpedaled.

"The U.S. delegation to Geneva negotiations has been instructed to give up the former, tough demands for verification," Losev noted.

"The Pentagon," he continued, "would like to post its inspection groups at every street corner in the city of Krasnoyarsk, but it does not want to see even the footprints of Soviet observers in the Nevada desert under any circumstances".

"The question arises: Is the present U.S. Administration really seeking reliable reciprocal checks on compliance with agreements or all its previous talk about stringent verification were nothing more than a tactical ploy and another bargaining chip?," Losev said.

Other Soviet speakers in the show included Lev Tolunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, one of the two chambers of the Soviet parliament—the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

U.S. Congress was represented by Sam Nunn, Democratic senator from Georgia, Les Aspin, Democratic representative from Wisconsin, and Trent Lott from Mississippi, leader of the Republican minority in the house.

Ponomarev on Shultz-Shevardnadze Talks

PM221023 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Sep 87 First Edition p 3

[Observer Manki Ponomarev "Military-Political Review": "At a Turning Point"]

[Text] The correspondence between word and deed is not just a characteristic feature but, I would say, the determining feature of Soviet foreign policy. The world recently received further weighty confirmation of this. I refer to M.S. Gorbachev's article "Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World," published in the press.

This article is of a program nature. It is a logical continuation and further development of the ideas enshrined in the Soviet statement of 15 January 1986, when the outlines of the world's phased deliverance from nuclear and other kinds of mass destruction weapons were first mapped out. It embodied a new, truly revolutionary approach to resolving very acute problems of concern to all mankind and charted a precise route toward security and a nuclear-free world. Therefore there is every reason to call it the doctrine of a secure world.

Of course, it is no coincidence that the CPSU Central Committee general secretary deemed it necessary to share his views on basic questions of world politics in connection with the start of the work of the 42d UN General Assembly Session. This is a manifestation of respect for the United Nations and recognition of its lofty role in international life.

It is precisely the world community that has to resolve the question of creating an all-embracing system of peace and international security. The idea of such a system was advanced by the Soviet Union at the 27th CPSU Congress in 1986 and was then supported by many states. The socialist countries and members of the Nonaligned Movement are now its active coauthors.

The world community has now received a document setting forth the Soviet leadership's analysis of the changes of revolutionary substance and significance in the material basis of the life of mankind in the last quarter of the 20th century. At the same time, it takes sober account of the dangers which call in question the very immortality of the human race.

It will take a while to assess in full the profundity of the general ideas and specific propositions expounded in the Soviet leader's article. But even the first responses by the world public show that these ideas and proposals will have a major impact on the processes taking place in the international arena. It is a question not only of the long term. Observers have drawn special attention, for example, to M.S. Gorbachev's statement that a treaty on the elimination of medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles could be drawn up by the end of this year and lead to an accord with the U.S. Administration on the reduction of strategic offensive arms under conditions of strict observance of the ABM Treaty by the first half of 1988. That would be a real breakthrough to a future agreement—the first in history—on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missile weapons and the considerable reduction of other, most dangerous kinds of them.

A whole range of questions associated with limiting and reducing nuclear and conventional arms, as well as chemical weapons, was at the center of the talks which E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, held in Washington recently with U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz.

The talks were complex and tense. But it is very important that they proceeded in a constructive, working, and even amicable atmosphere. The sides had an opportunity to express their views openly, to compare and amplify their positions, to reveal points of contact, and to record disagreements. In short, the mood was businesslike. They succeeded in achieving the degree and volume of accord that are possible today.

The atmosphere in which the talks were held was determined to a considerable degree by the very first day's signing of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on setting up centers to reduce the nuclear danger, and the two protocols to it. That agreement was figuratively characterized as a sip of hope, a sip which anticipates quenching the universal thirst for peace and security on earth.

Continuing this metaphor, it could be said that other sips were also taken in Washington. Thus, the sides agreed to begin full-scale talks on limiting and, ultimately, completely ending nuclear tests. A joint Soviet-U.S. statement was adopted in this connection. It lays down, in particular, that these talks are to begin before 1 December 1987 and will be aimed at achieving the ultimate goal of completely ending nuclear tests as part of an effective process of disarmament.

During the talks earnest efforts were made for the speediest conclusion of an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. As a result, an accord in principle was reached on the conclusion of a corresponding treaty. Both sides' delegations in Geneva have been instructed to intensify work on settling the outstanding technical questions and completing as soon as possible the elaboration of the text of the draft treaty.

It is important to point out that part of the mutually acceptable solution to the question of the Pershing-1A missiles in the FRG, which had been a stumbling block at the Geneva talks, was the agreed proposition that the same procedure will be applied in regard to the U.S.-owned nuclear warheads for those missiles as to all other nuclear warheads for medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles. That is, solutions were found which do not affect the U.S. allied interests and which also accord with the USSR's interests.

E.A. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz agreed to hold an additional meeting in Moscow in the second half of October to sum up the work in all the spheres examined at the talks in Washington: regional problems, bilateral relations, human rights, and humanitarian questions, as well as the work of the delegations at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms. It was agreed that a meeting will be held between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan to sign a treaty on medium- and lesser-range missiles and to examine the entire range of questions of relations between the two countries. It was decided that the summit meeting will be held in the fall of 1987.

Thus, the United States and the USSR have gotten very close to completing the preparation of this important treaty. This in turn must create strong momentum in resolving the cardinal problem of reducing strategic offensive arms. Such a reduction is not yet nuclear disarmament but is already an appreciable step on the way to it, a step which all mankind awaits with hope.

Observers still have to assess in full the results of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Washington, balance the positive, and highlight negative aspects. But, by all accounts, there are grounds for asserting that the breakthrough has been achieved, and the world is now at a turning point. If we were to try to compare the development of international

relations with a climb up a steep, high mountain, I think we could say that we have reached the pass, from where we get a view of the road to a nuclear-free and secure future. But it is not an easy road. Until the disarmament problem has been solved, it could lead to the abyss of nuclear insanity, from which there is no return.

You might think that this truth must be clear to everyone. It must be... But the West's reactionary, militarist circles, blinded by egotistic class interests, do not want to renounce their stagnant views on the course of events in the world. They continue to gamble on anti-Sovietism, on confrontation with the world of socialism, on the long since obsolete "position of strength" policy. As the well known U.S. politician G. Hart recently said, blind wandering on this path and the surplus arsenal of nuclear arms could lead the United States into a historic impasse and bankrupt it.

Pressure from right-wing conservative forces is also clearly discernible in certain actions of the U.S. Administration. To please these forces the head of the White House has once again allowed himself to display anti-Soviet emotions in a number of his recent speeches. To please these forces he rejects the peace settlement plan adopted at the conference in Guatemala by the leaders of five Central American states and declares his unconditional material and moral support for the Nicaraguan contras. Under pressure from these forces, involvement in the undeclared war in Afghanistan is continuing as before: Dushman bandit formations are receiving more and more hundreds of millions of dollars and new consignments of weapons, including Stinger missiles, used for piratical attacks on aircraft with women and children on board. To please these forces the U.S. military presence is continuing to be built up in the Persian Gulf, in which region there are already more than 40 U.S. ships, including an aircraft carrier and a battleship.

The professional militarists are behaving particularly overtly, really with pathological cynicism. Defense Secretary Weinberger, who is trying to dictate his will to the President himself, is followed by U.S. General Galvin, NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, making inflammatory statements. Contrary to all logic, he maintains that the threat of an armed conflict in Europe will increase as a result of the "double zero," and he demands, "by way of compensation," the modernization and buildup of other kinds of arms. He is echoed by high-ranking Defense Department staffers in Washington, who are raising the question of creating ground-launched cruise missiles with conventional warheads and deploying them in Europe.

Moreover, *The New York Times* reported recently that for 2 years now the Pentagon has been developing a cruise missile of great power and very high accuracy. According to the newspaper's data, during a test launch of this missile from a submarine it hit a target 3,000 miles away. Thanks to their range and accuracy, these missiles are characterized as first-strike weapons. At the same time, Senator D. Quayle has submitted a resolution demanding that these missiles be excluded in advance from any possible future Soviet-U.S. agreement on arms reduction.

The prospect of such agreements being concluded is extremely alarming to U.S. right-wingers. The matter has reached the point where E. Rostow, one of the most zealous "hawks," has threatened to wreck the Senate ratification of a future treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. True, this does not depend on him, but it is highly symptomatic of the frame of mind which actually exists among the powers that be in Washington. Such a frame of mind can lead only to increased international tension.

This is why the restructuring of international relations has become such a vital necessity—really the demand of the times. Restructuring in all aspects—military, political, economic, humanitarian, and ecological—carried out on the basis of the principles of genuine democratization and law and order.

This is precisely how the Soviet Union poses the question, as shown so impressively in the article "Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World." It is imbued with realism and represents the orderly and finished concept of the Soviet Union's approach to problems of the contemporary international situation in all their interconnection and totality.

'Top Priority' Views Impending Arms Accord

LD182314 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 18 Sep 87

["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Professors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov, of the USSR United States and Canada Institute]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] The Soviet Union and the United States announced on Friday that they had reached an agreement in principle on scrapping all Soviet and American medium- and shorter-range weapons, thus setting the stage for a new Soviet-American summit later this year. The announcement was made on the concluding day of the talks, which began last Tuesday, between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and United States Secretary of State George Shultz. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was twice received by President Reagan, to whom he handed a personal letter from General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

That there would be high-level Soviet-American talks in Washington was announced, if my memory does not betray me, a month or so ago, which was an indication that the Geneva talks on INF were stalled or progressing very slowly, if at all, and that the talks needed a big push, or a shot in the arm, from high above. Hence those Soviet-American talks, which were in my view a success. My question is not about how you feel about this breakthrough...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] That's obvious!

[Kuznetsov] That's obvious...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] And that's very conventional!

[Kuznetsov] We're very happy about it...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yes we are.

[Kuznetsov] Nor is my question about whether this agreement in principle is important, which is also obvious. I'd like to ask you: What is uppermost in your mind in connection with what has just happened?

[Bogdanov] I have many things on my mind, but let me remind you, Sergey, and our listeners at the American end that this week in general was pretty rich in events. Not only that, but the number of events: let me just ennumerate them—the session of UN opened; Shevardnadze...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] You mean the General Assembly session.

[Bogdanov] Yes, General Assembly of the United Nations; then Soviet Foreign Minister came to Washington to discuss very important problems; *Pravda* published very important article by the general secretary, Gorbachev. Besides INF agreement we have already signed with the Americans an agreement on the centers of reducing nuclear war risks. So my question, which I formulate for myself, and I formulate it to you, my colleagues: Why it so happened that just exactly this week became such a rich week in events?

[Kuznetsov] Yes, that's a good one.

[Bogdanov] Do you see, do you see any logic in that? Or is it just a coincidence of events? In any case, of course, I am really excited by the events. I am really happy that we have got breakthrough on very, very important directions of our relations with the Americans. But as a scientist, as a scholar, I cannot help but just to try ti find out the roots of all that. Why this week especially?

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, who is going to answer this one? Sergey, perhaps?

[Plekhanov] Well, that's a very tough question. There is a mystery about any big turn in historical events. I mean, that's a mystery which has been characterizing human history for centuries. I mean why a certain big event happens this week and not next week. There is some confluence, apparently, of trends, both objective and subjective. Certain developments in politics, certain changes in the perceptions of this or that government, this or that personality at the top of government. I have no problems if this administration portrys itself as a peacemaker basing this portrayal on the real achievements of peacemaking.

[Bogdanov] It's okay with me too.

[Plekhanov] If it's honestly earned, I mean, so long that it's truthful, why not?

[Kuznetsov] Yes.

[Plekhanov] And we are prepared to cooperate in that. And I think that the important thing this week has been this sign that there is serious peacemaking at work, that the two sides have finally found enough common ground...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Credit goes to both sides.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, credit goes to both sides but let me put, call your attention to the Gorbachev article. What comes to my mind when I'm reading this article, that there is a very close link between the events in Washington and what is said in his article. Because I believe that the philosophy of our behavior, latest behavior, or what you call new thinking, has been just realized in Washington in the Soviet position. That's why I have a right to claim there is a very close link between this article and the events in Washington. Would I put the priority? Pavel, I am sorry but I would put that article, maybe I'm wrong, but I would put in the list of priorities of events, which comes first, I would put that article in the first place. That's my theory.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, what we're talking about now is that while the Soviet-American talks in Washington were in progress the national central daily *Pravda* published what is described, or what is called, a blueprint for a secure world written by Mikhail Gorbachev. And that blueprint contained a forecast for a successful conclusion of the Soviet-American talks. It said in part that an INF accord could be signed by the end of this year. Moreover, there could be a 50 percent reduction in offensive strategic weapons that are the centerpiece of the nuclear arms race in the first half of next year, provided the Antiballistic Missile Treaty is strengthened, not destroyed. So I think that that was our negotiating position in Washington, with a certain degree of give and take.

[Plekhanov] Yes, I would agree with that. That's how I understand it too. You see, this article, I think, puts the events in Washington in a framework. It shows the perspective which both sides in the world as a whole can and should move toward, using the INF agreement as an important first step. This is an optimistic article and it's a very pragmatic article. It's not daydreaming, it's not just, you know, beautiful words not substantiated by specific...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] It's just both. It's theoretical and pragmatic.

[Plekhanov] Yes;

[Bogdanov] It's a very high theoretical piece of work but very much down to earth. I'm sorry, I interrupted.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, Yeah. That's, it's based on well-grounded optimism and a lot of fresh ideas about how we should increase international security in this world and

provide for a more rational development of world events without the danger of war, without oppression of one nation by others, and so on. So it contains ideas across the whole range of international topics and of course, you know, I think our short talk here would not be enough to describe them all. But I would concentrate on such things as substantiating the idea of complete nuclear disarmament. Comrade Gorbachev has taken up studies by Soviet and American experts who have proven that strategic stability in the world—meaning the danger of war—strategic stability would not be damaged, in fact it would be strengthened and the danger of war would be drastically reduced, reduced if we eliminated in a very short period 95 percent of the existing nuclear weapons; that we would not become less secure, we would become more secure; we could very well and practically do that.

[Bogdanov] But we prefer to live without even 5 percent.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, and we can do without 5 percent as well. But I mean as a major leap forward, I mean the 50 percent reduction is already on the cards and we might be able to conclude such an agreement right after the INF, in the first part of next year.

[Bogdanov] By the way—yes, Sergey, I'm sorry—but if we talk a little bit about the importance of the events that we have witnessed just now I believe that the major importance of the INF agreement, if it is signed of course, let's cross my fingers; if it is signed, it paves the way in a very much psychological way for the major agreement on strategic and space weapons. That we should always keep in mind.

[Kuznetsov] We've reaped a harvest of agreements. You already, Professor Bogdanov, mentioned a plan to establish nuclear risk reduction centers, which is going to be an independent of the hotline, an independent line of communication between the Soviet Union and the United States to inform both sides about missile tests and even about attempts by some third country to provoke a major conflict between the two. So it is an important thing. What was another agreement, which is also of importance in my view, that was reached in Washington?

[Plekhanov] The two sides decided to resume negotiations, full-scale negotiations, on reaching agreement on complete elimination, a complete cessation of nuclear testing. That is very important. Such negotiations were going on until 1980.

[Bogdanov] And we always look at that as a first priority in nuclear disarmament, banning all nuclear tests. We believe that's the shortest way to the eliminating...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] That's what our moratorium was all about.

[Plekhanov] Exactly. So this agreement on resuming those negotiations reflects the importance and the success, the momentum generated by the Soviet moratorium. So I think that bears out the analysis which I think we all agreed on, that the moratorium was not in vain. It was a worthwhile thing.

[Kuznetsov] So the reason I'm trying to focus so much attention on those separate achievements, agreements that were reached in Washington, is very simple. If we go back, if we look back at the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev on 15 January last year, that is his three-stage plan for a nonnuclear world by the year 2000, we'll see that the elimination of medium-range missiles was an integral part of it. We'll see that a moratorium, the cessation of nuclear tests, is also part of it. So this plan, which was initially called a utopia, is kind of working, or perhaps it's only wishful on our part?

[Plekhanov] No, no, it is certainly working, absolutely so. And I would like to respond to one point of doubt and criticism. You know, there is a widely held view in the West that, well, the Russians are prepared to do away with nuclear weapons because they allegedly have the superiority in conventional ones and it would be very dangerous for the Europeans especially because then the Russians would be able to fight and wage a war in Europe.

[Kuznetsov] And win after a war in Europe.

[Plekhanov] And win a war in Europe. But this is baloney. I mean, this has always been baloney, but you need specific arguments, more and more advanced arguments, and specific suggestions. And this article by Mikhail Gorbachev also contains some new ideas on that. Not only we are prepared to negotiate with NATO for drastic reductions of conventional weapons and removing the imbalances which exist there, NATO keeps saying, well...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] And asymmetries...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] And assymmetries that exist...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] That's very important.

[Plekhanov] Yes, but also there should be joint work between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization on changing the doctrines and the armaments of both sides in such a manner that no offensive war can possibly be fought in Europe. Specifically, Mikhail Gorbachev suggested—and this is a new idea—to establish a corridor, a demilitarized corridor in Europe between East and West in which there would be only such weapons that would be good only for strictly defensive, defensive purposes.

Now, that would be a very, very important step in eliminating the fears and increasing the confidence on both sides. So I would like to emphasize that not only are we for nuclear disarmament, we are for changing radically the military situation in Europe, making it, defusing the danger of war in Europe which exists as a result of big piles of armaments.

[Bogdanov] But if we come back to your question about the feasibility of the nuclear disarmament plan...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Yes.

[Bogdanov] I would like to say that we should not be surprised that at the beginning that plan was taken by many in the world as some kind of, as you put it, utopia. Any new great enterprise is met in that way, you know. So I'm not surprised. Now, now, what I would like to say, just to call on our listeners to look at that plan from today's perspective. We have already, let's cross our fingers, of course, we have already achieved one very important stage in liquidating of the whole class of nuclear weapons.

[Kuznetsov] Two classes, in fact.

[Bogdanov] Two classes, OK, two classes of nuclear weapons. What does it mean? First of all, it means that we are realistic, we are pragmatic, that is our joint success. Let's look at that as our joint success. That I would believe, it's a very important part of all that.

[Kuznetsov] Professor Bogdanov, when you asked this rhetorical question about why all this happened this week, if you asked me that question I wouldn't be able to answer it. But I was thinking along the same lines, so to say. After so many years of fruitless negotiations, so many long years of inaction, of harsh rhetoric and even slamming the door on each other, the Soviet Union and the United States could come close to each other, breach their disagreements to such an extent that one of the people present at the talks on Thursday said that history is in the making.

We used to say that we can hardly do business with this very conservative administration now in power, with this Republican administration. But I think that the importance of the talk is also in the fact that we've learned from those people, we've learned how to deal with them, we have acquired new flexibility, we have become able to listen to the other side, no matter what is being said about us, to this criticism of our shortcomings, and weak points, although we are not happy about, sometimes, about the language which is being used. Would you agree that this also is a very important element of the Soviet-American agreement, that we can deal now with the people who refused to talk with us, when (?they came to power) in 1980?

[Plekhanov] Yeah, I think our increased flexibility is a factor, but...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] (?Our) confidence building. Remember this inspection of the Krasnoyarsk station? We are learning off the ropes of diplomacy in this very, very complex international situation.

[Plekhanov] Yes, we are developing new methods of confidence building and increased openness and we practice them more readily than before. But I would also emphasize that the other side has apparently changed some of its assumptions about the Soviet Union...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Sergey, Sergey, I.I...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Or did you see changes...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] What you say is great, but I still have my doubts. In what way? You know, we're still dealing with the same conservative administration. We're still dealing with the same President. We're still dealing with the same political base of this administration. What worries me now, and we should not forget it, I wouldn't like to sound very pessimistic, but what that worries me, that after all those events, all the right-wing forces will try to mobilize...

[Plekhanov interrupting] Oh yes, certainly...

[Bogdanov]...themselves to sabotage all that.

[plekhanov] They will...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] We should not forget...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] They will fight it tooth and nail...

[Bogdanov]...With all our enthusiasm about that. But at the same time, you know, what comes to my mind, and I cannot help but just to say that we are witnessing now the finest hours of the new thinking policy. Don't you think so?

[Plekhanov] Yeah, I wouldn't...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] After all, whatever you may say about all the difficulties, those are the finest hours of the new thinking policy.

[Kuznetsov] I agree with you, but I'm afraid our time is up. And I suggest that we return to this subject matter in our next program, the more so since Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is scheduled to deliver a speech at the 42nd United Nations General Assembly on 23 September, and he is, in my view, he will spell out the Soviet position, the Soviet concept of world, of international security, the same as was so emphatically put forward in the blueprint for a secure world by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Thank you for coming to our studio. Our time is up. I am Pavel Kuznetsov, your host on Top Priority, signing off until next week, at the same time, and on the same wavelength. Goodbye.

Senate Panel's Report on ABM Treaty Noted

PM221409 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Senate Committee Report on ABM Treaty"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Sep—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee published a report Sunday containing sharp criticism of the so-called "broad" interpretation of the ABM Treaty proposed by the Reagan administration.

The administration's claims that it is entitled to unilaterally alter the interpretation of the treaty are mistaken, the document states. This is a "blatant violation of the

U.S. Constitution's provisions on international treaties."

At the same time, *The New York Times* writes, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee warned that it may delay ratification of the emerging agreement with the Soviet Union in the arms control sphere if the Reagan administration adheres to its new interpretation of the ABM Treaty.

As well as disseminating the report, the committee referred for Senate examination the full text of a resolution submitted at the initiative of Senator Joseph Biden (D-Del) rejecting the attempts to alter the interpretation of the ABM Treaty.

Pentagon Developing New Military Satellites
LD210653 Moscow TASS in English 0628 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Washington September 21 TASS—The Pentagon works out plans to develop a new series of military satellites.

The *United Press International* (UPI) news agency reports that they will be used in the event of crisis situations to gather reconnaissance data and to ensure communications with troops. It will be possible to use self-propelled launchers to loft them into space.

Paul Stares, a specialist in military uses of outer space from the Brookings Institution, has said that the satellites' advantages would be revealed in war-time.

He said the USA has a small number of very sophisticated, costly and vulnerable satellites and, if several of them are lost, the military command will be deprived of vitally important communication lines.

The first test of such a satellite in orbit is to be carried out within the next 18 months.

Weinberger Preaches Anti-Soviet Stereotypes
PM171831 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[V. Matveyev "Rejoinder": "Glanost and Weinberger"]

[Text] The Pentagon boss is worried. "There is everywhere a desire to deny the patent threat posed by the Soviet Union...," he told an audience in the city of Cheyenne, Wyoming, on 4 September. And clearly the feelings that so worry Weinberger have penetrated even here, in the American backwoods. "It is as if the stronger our enemy is the greater our safety," the speaker said, seething with indignation. But it is not surprising that he is worried: The Russians are now besieging Americans like him back home! "The impression is being created that glasnost has exerted almost the same influence on American policy as Soviet policy."

Thus the "threat" is from glasnost, no less. Soviet glasnost, of course, since the "glasnost" Weinberger advocates amounts to fueling enormous fears among Americans and depicting the Soviet Union as the "enemy."

The fact that such propaganda, for all its fervor, is not having the desired effect infuriates Weinberger. And he reels from one extreme to another, as exemplified by this speech. In it he maintained on the one hand that the USSR is considerably ahead of America in many categories of arms while proclaiming a few minutes later that "we now have the best armed forces in the world. They are backed up by the best equipment in the world..."

We do not intend to take him literally but quote what he said so that the speaker's feverishness and obsession become clear.

There can be no question of logical thought processes here! And is it not such ill-considered speeches that are prompting an ever-increasing number of Americans to question the "truth" preached by representatives of the right wing of the ruling class in the United States with their deeply rooted anti-Soviet stereotypes.

As for our glasnost, we impose it on no one. But if Americans do start to take an interest in it, such an appetite will do no one any harm.

Reagan-Arias Contra Aid Talks Reported
LD222244 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Washington September 22 TASS—There was a meeting in the White House today between President Reagan and Costa Rican President Oscar Arias who arrived on an informal visit in the USA. The main aim of his visit to Washington is to try to get the American legislators' backing for the plan of the establishment of durable peace in Central America which was endorsed by the heads of the countries of the region in Guatemala in August.

After visiting the White House, the Costa Rican president told newsmen that during a conversation with Reagan he had asked the administration not to refer to the Congress a new request about aid to contras till November 7, the date of the introduction of the ceasefire appointed in the plan for peaceful settlement in the region. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz announced the other day in the Congress that the administration intends to request another 270 million dollars as aid to the contras. The plans of the White House to press for constant continuation of the financing of the undeclared war against the Nicaraguan Government were assessed by many congressmen as an attempt to sabotage the peace process in the region.

U.S. Press Views Bush Role in Arming Contras
LD220922 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 22 TASS—TASS Correspondent Vladimir Kikilo reports:

U.S. Vice-President George Bush, who has effectively already launched a campaign to be nominated the Republican presidential hopeful at next year's election, is continuing stubbornly to deny any involvement in the Iran-contras affair.

But data that has leaked into the press makes one at least doubt the sincerity of his assertions on this score.

The New York Times reported that Donald Gregg, assistant to the vice-president for national security affairs, had known way back in August last year, or three months before the Irangate scandal blew up in Washington, that Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North, then a National Security Council staffer, had been playing a key role in the secret operation to supply arms to Nicaraguan contras.

Although Gregg in his testimony before the special congressional commissions probing the affair denied having informed his boss about North's activities, the law-makers, according to *The New York Times*, were left sceptical about the possibility of his having held back that kind of information from Bush.

The scepticism about Bush having been "unaware" of the illegal operation is shared by *The Washington Post*.

Quoting informed sources, it said that Gregg's aide, Samuel Watson, had visited contra camps in Honduras in January last year and then prepared a corresponding report for the vice-president.

The still unclassified report, the paper added, had been devoted to a significant extent to the problem of arms supplies to the contras.

Besides, in May 1986, *The Washington Post* reported, Bush had met with Felix Rodriguez, a former C.I.A. agent in Costa Rica and the memorandum prepared by members of the vice-president's staff before the meeting had covered the issue of arms supplies to the contras as a probable subject for the discussions.

It transpired later, during the Irangate hearings on Capitol Hill, that Rodriguez had been directly involved in clandestine deliveries of weapons to former Somozists at the time of a congressional ban on aid to the contras.

Another telltale fact: as far back as in the fall of 1985 Bush sent a note to North, key player in the Iran-contras affair, expressing gratitude for the latter's dedication and tireless work in executing the Reagan Administration's Central American policy.

China

Seminar Debates Economy, Soviet Reforms

PM220757 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Sep 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent V. Tomilin dispatch: "Strengthening the Link With Practice"]

[Text] Beijing—The all-around development of economic theory and the final rejection of obsolete and stagnant views and concepts which slow down social progress are a very important condition for the successful reform of the economic system in the PRC and profound transformations in other spheres. This thought determined the entire course of the lively debate at a scientific symposium in Beijing devoted to urgent questions of the development of economic theory. Prominent Chinese economic scientists, production leaders, and representatives of the mass media and of science in higher educational institutions participated in it, a TASS correspondent reports to the editorial office.

"For a long time," it was pointed out at the symposium, "production relations in China were artificially changed and established without regard to the actual situation and, in particular, the very low level of development of productive forces. As a result there appeared numerous theoretical concepts, which were mechanically introduced into the practice of socialist building. Today they are creating obstacles to the further implementation of economic reform. The participants in the debate named as an example of such concepts the contrasting of socialism and the commodity economy, the "incorrect attitude toward the private economy as the 'chaff of capitalism,'" the theory of "egalitarianism in the sphere of distribution," which was long regarded as an "important distinguishing feature of socialism," and the long adherence to a closed model of the socialist economy.

The idea of an objectively conditioned similarity between a number of the urgent problems of economic development being resolved today both in China and in the Soviet Union was clearly heard during the symposium. The October Revolution brought the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to China, Wu Renzhang, leader of the theory sector of the PRC Academy of Social Sciences Institute of the Soviet Union and East European Countries, pointed out in his speech. To a considerable degree, he said, we have studied Marxism-Leninism and the theory of socialist building from the USSR's example.

Professor Zhou Xincheng of the Scientific Research Institute of the Soviet Union and East European Countries under the Chinese People's University told the symposium participants in detail about the economic restructuring underway in the USSR and the contents of the documents of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. We have already implemented some of the measures being taken in the Soviet Union, and we have accumulated positive experience, he said. Others are at the experimental stage. But in some spheres we are still at the preparatory stage. Therefore we should devote exceptional attention to the restructuring under way in the USSR.

The Beijing symposium participants urged all workers on the theoretical front to "continue ridding themselves of obsolete dogmas, strengthening the link between theory and practice," wrote *Guangming Ribao* in its account of this interesting scientific forum.

PRC's Search for Chinese Brand of Socialism

PM181519 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Portyakov under the rubric "Reply to a Reader": "The Search Continues"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "Can you tell me the meaning of 'building socialism with Chinese characteristics'?" N. Mikheyev, Shuya city.

The sociopolitical development of the PRC in recent years has been closely tied in with the policy of "building socialism with Chinese characteristics." This concept, according to Chinese scientific literature, represents the most generalized expression of the CPC's program at the current stage. It was first formulated at the 12th CPC Congress in September 1982.

One of its central problems is the problem of the correlation between socialism and Chinese characteristics. Currently the established view is that they are inseparable, organically united. On the one hand, it is pointed out, divorced from the fundamental principles of socialism "the so-called Chinese characteristics are meaningless." On the other hand, it is noted that there is a need for the "creative solution of newly arising problems in the light of the fundamental principles and methods of Marxism."

The proposition contained in the CPC Central Committee resolution "On the Main Trend in Building a Socialist Spiritual Culture" adopted by the 6th Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 12th convocation (September 1986), which states that building socialism with Chinese characteristics is a necessary stage in the process of achieving the highest ideal of the party—the creation of a communist society—is of fundamental importance here.

The initial platform in "building socialism with Chinese characteristics" is the careful consideration of the country's "characteristic features," that is the whole complex of its economic, political, cultural, historic, demographic, and other characteristics with their weak and strong points.

From the viewpoint of production forces, China's main characteristic feature consists of the fact that despite considerable development since the formation of the PRC, the country's backwardness has still not been definitively overcome. In this context it is planned to achieve by the end of the century an economic level described as "moderate sufficiency," characterized by a per capita gross national product in the range of $1,000. By the middle of the 21st century the PRC is to approach the level of the world's economically developed countries and the per capita gross national product is to increase to $4,000.

According to Chinese economists, such specific features of the country as the insufficient development of the country's generally rich natural resources, limited arable land, density of population, underdevelopment of commodity production, extensive presence of small-scale production units based mainly on manual labor, and so forth, must be fully taken into account in the development of the country's production forces. This has resulted in particular in the course toward the simultaneous development of large-scale, medium-scale, and small-scale production, the utilization of technology of various degrees of sophistication, special attention to agriculture and light industry, and emphasis on labor-intensive sectors.

In the sphere of production relations the country's main "characteristic feature" is the fact that the PRC is in the "initial stage of socialism." This circumstance, the Chinese press notes, determines the need for a long time to come to develop a mixed economy in which public (state and cooperative) ownership predominates and to "initially promote the prosperity of a section of the population with a view to achieving general prosperity."

In the sphere of the superstructure, account must be taken of the deep-rooted small-scale production habits, ideas of leveling, vestiges of feudalism, and the absence of "active building of a democratic political life in the period after the formation of the PRC." In this context tasks in improving the work of party and state organs, overcoming bureaucracy, developing and strengthening democracy, legality, and discipline, reinforcing the norms of socialist morality, and enhancing the people's cultural standard assume a special urgency.

An important aspect of "building socialism with Chinese characteristics" is the principle of "one state, two systems" which has been proclaimed in China and is called upon to resolve the problem of returning Taiwan, Hongkong, and Macao to the PRC, taking into account the prevailing historical circumstances.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the PRC is guided by the principles of independence and autonomy. It has proclaimed that it belongs to the category of developing countries and has pledged not to enter into blocs with any state or group of countries. The struggle for peace throughout the world has been proclaimed the fundamental aim of China's foreign policy.

The view is held here that since the 3d Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 11th convocation (1978), the main features of China's development have crystalized in the country. They include two closely interconnected trends: The implementation of the "four fundamental principles," and the policy of reforms, expansion of external ties, and revitalization of the economy. The four fundamental principles are: the socialist path; the democratic dictatorship of the people; the leadership of the CPC; and Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Mao Zedong (which are now regarded as the "quintessence of the CPC's collective experience" rather than Mao's personal views). The pursuit of the four fundamental principles has been proclaimed a political prerequisite of basic importance and a guarantee of the socialist character of the PRC's modernization.

The decisive role in the realization of this concept is assigned to the implementation of reforms in all spheres of social life and primarily in the economic and political sphere.

It is the economic reform which has advanced furthest in China. The following are regarded as the key tasks at the present stage: the revitalization of the work of state plants and factories, above all large- and medium-scale ones, on the basis of the widespread introduction of the principle of contract responsibility for the results of management; the formation of an integrated socialist market; and the transition from direct administrative methods of control over the activity of enterprises to control primarily through economic levers. It has been noted in the PRC that the economic reform which is under way in the country accords with the general trend of economic reforms in socialist countries.

The problem of long-term reform of the political structure, called upon to ensure the viability of the party and the state, overcome bureaucracy, enhance the efficiency of work of the party and state apparatus, and mobilize the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, is also being discussed more and more actively in the PRC. The question of political reform is to be included on the agenda of the upcoming 13th CPC Congress scheduled for late October this year.

The development of such a vast country presupposes drawing extensively on leading foreign science, technology, and management experience, including experience accumulated in other socialist countries, large-scale utilization of foreign means, and China's deep involvement in world economic and cultural relations. People in the PRC note that the course toward the expansion of foreign ties does not mean abandoning reliance primarily on their own resources and does not undermine the foundations of socialism, and that the positive results of this course by far outweigh its concurrent flaws and problems.

The concrete content of the concept of "building socialism with Chinese characteristics," according to the view currently held in the PRC, will be clarified, developed, and enriched in accordance with the new problems and experience arising from practice.

USSR, PRC Planning Experts Confer 4-17 Sep

PM211407 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Consultations at the level of experts from USSR and PRC central planning organs were held 4-17 September. There was discussion of a broad range of questions concerning the improvement of planning in the USSR, the transition of sectors to self-financing, self-recoupment, and full economic accountability [khozraschet], and reforms of price formation. Gratification was expressed with the results of the consultations which proceeded in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere. The sides spoke in favor of further expansion of ties between the USSR Gosplan and the PRC State Planning Commission. The PRC specialists visited Leningrad and Minsk.

IZVESTIYA on PRC's Asia-Pacific Policy

PM161127 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Candidate of Historical Sciences Yevg. Bazhanov article: "Course of Stability; China and the Problems of the Asia-Pacific Region"]

[Text] At the recent international symposium on economic cooperation in Shanghai the Chinese representative pointed out that the PRC is striving to develop mutually advantageous ties with all the states of the Asia-Pacific region. That is the PRC's current course. The country is carrying out modernization, for which it is necessary to create favorable external conditions. In particular, the task is being set of turning China into the "backbone and the core of support for peace, stability, and economic prosperity" in the Asia-Pacific region. That is understandable. After all, the PRC is an archetypal Pacific power. Three seas—the Yellow Sea, the East China Sea, and the South China Sea—wash the eastern seaboard of China with its 1-billion-strong population. The country's Pacific seaboard is more than 12,000 km long.

Until quite recently Washington was seriously counting on using the PRC as a kind of counterweight to the Soviet Union in the Asia-Pacific region. U.S. politicians and military people waffle about the need to "arm Beijing to enable it to keep an eye on Soviet sea lanes, put pressure on Russia on the Soviet-Chinese border, participate in the overall defense against the growing threats to the free world," and so forth. The Washington "hawks" have suggested just about everything to China: "strategic cooperation," a "division of labor" between the United States, the PRC, and Japan, to "restrain" the Soviet Union, and the provision of the U.S. "nuclear umbrella" to China in exchange for support for the White House's various adventures in the world arena! The press reports that Washington sought the right to overfly PRC territory with military aircraft, to site tracking stations in China to monitor Soviet defense efforts, to obtain access to Chinese ports for ships carrying nuclear weapons, to arrange joint maneuvers between Chinese and U.S. Armed Forces, and so forth.

The U.S. proposals, requests, and even demands have met with firmer and firmer rejections from the Chinese capital. The attempts to include the PRC in the system of Western alliances, the Chinese press explained, is nothing but an illusion; the White House will not succeed in playing the "China card" against the Soviet Union in the Pacific.

In declaring its adherence to peace and to the settlement of disputes in the Asia-Pacific region by political methods, the PRC is gradually increasing its activeness in the

disarmament sphere. Having already unilaterally adopted a commitment to no-first-use of nuclear weapons back in 1964, China announced its rejection of nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere in 1986. The PRC is reducing its Armed Forces—over the last 2 years more than 700,000 servicemen have been discharged to the reserves. The Chinese Government has acceded to the Treaty on a Nuclear-free Zone in the South Pacific (the Rarotonga Treaty), and supports the idea of such a zone on the Korean peninsula. Beijing is showing an interest in establishing a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia too. Chinese leaders have repeatedly voted for the elimination of all foreign bases in the Asia-Pacific region, the complete destruction of nuclear weapons, and the ending of the arms race. Speaking this spring at a UN regional conference within the framework of the world campaign for the disarmament of Asia and the Pacific, Wan Li, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council, said: "Actively promoting the disarmament process and implementing real disarmament is the vital demand posed by the peoples of China. It is an urgent task of exceptional importance entrusted to our generation."

The PRC makes no secret of its interest in maintaining normal, mutually advantageous ties with the United States and its allies in the Pacific. This aim is understandable. For more than 20 years Washington was in confrontation with the PRC, surrounding it with bases and exerting military, political, and economic pressure. Neither the PRC and U.S. peoples nor the cause of peace in the region as a whole benefited from this situation. Now U.S.-Chinese confrontation is a thing of the past and China does not want to resurrect it.

At the same time China cannot fail to note the dangers of the constant escalation of the imperialist states' military preparations in the Pacific region. In a talk this June with D. Yano, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Japan's Komeito Party, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping expressed his confusion in connection with Tokyo's decision to increase the country's military spending beyond the limit of 1 percent of GNP, and stressed that there is a "constant tendency toward the rebirth of militarism" in postwar Japan.

The newspaper *Renmin Ribao*, organ of the CPC Central Committee, has repeatedly drawn attention to the Pentagon's increasing activeness in the Pacific and its creation of a "security arc"—a chain of military bases from Japan to Australia. The U.S. attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the Philippines so as to prevent the elimination of U.S. bases on Philippine territory, and the White House's "blatant pressure" on the New Zealand Government, which has banned ships carrying nuclear weapons from the country's ports, were also noted. The PRC demands that Washington withdraw its troops and arms from the south of the Korean peninsula and condemns the annual U.S.-Seoul "Team Spirit" maneuvers. U.S. militarist activity in Korea and throughout Asia and the Pacific is assessed by Chinese scientists and journalists as being aimed at winning military superiority and perpetuating U.S. control over other peoples. The magazine *Liaowang* referred to the Reagan administration's neoglobalist doctrine as being more adventurist and aggressive than the Truman Doctrine and the program directives of all subsequent presidents.

If one reads Chinese periodicals one can find criticism of Soviet policy too. We are reproached for vying with the "other superpower" (the United States) for "hegemony" in the Asia-Pacific region. Negative statements are made about Soviet policy in Afghanistan and Indochina. But China cannot fail to see that the Soviet Union is devoted to the cause of disarmament and the defusing of conflict in the region and is taking practical steps in this direction. It is well known that a conceptual basis and practical program for ensuring peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region was proposed in M.S. Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech of 28 July 1986 and further developed in his replies to the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka* on 21 July 1987.

Regarding the Vladivostok program, the Chinese Government has officially stated that it "assesses with absolute seriousness and attaches great importance to" the Soviet leader's statements. It is stressed that the speech by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee contains "new points which China welcomes." Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and PRC foreign minister, assessed the announcement in *Merdeka* of the USSR's readiness to destroy all its intermediate-range missiles in Asia as a positive step of great importance. I think that the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations and the political dialogue between the two countries will promote the strengthening of our mutual understanding in the Asia-Pacific region and help to overcome any remaining differences.

It is gratifying that the PRC cooperates closely with the DPRK and supports its comprehensive program for ensuring a peaceful settlement to the Korean problem. China's relations with yet another neighboring socialist country—Mongolia—are being switched to a firm legal and treaty foundation. Unfortunately, for many years China's relations with India were complex. Not all disputes have yet been cleared up—the border dispute in particular.

China attaches great importance to cooperation with the ASEAN countries, where there is still a certain amount of suspicion about the goals of Chinese strategy. The idea is being advanced that the PRC and ASEAN have common interests stemming from their joint membership of the developing world and the "South" group, and from the need to oppose the consequences of a prolonged economic crisis and Western protectionism. True, there is another side to Chinese policy in Southeast Asia linked with the continuing tension in the PRC's relations with the Indochinese states. I would like to hope that this tension will be overcome. The initiatives put forward by

Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos are a sensible basis for normalizing the situation. China, I think, should also play a constructive role in defusing this seat of confrontation in the region.

The PRC's presence in the South Pacific is more and more noticeable. Supporting the antinuclear and antiwar sentiments of the region's peoples, the Chinese Government stresses that it "does not intend to play any kind of military role in the area or compete with anyone." Among the problems which China is solving in the Asia-Pacific region are its reunification with territories that have been detached from the country for various reasons. An agreement has been signed with Britain on the return of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty, a similar document with regard to Macao has been signed with Portugal. It is planned that Hong Kong and Macao will retain their capitalist systems and considerable autonomy for 50 years after unification with the PRC. Even more advantageous terms are being offered to Taiwan. However, the representatives of the ousted Kuomintang regime who fled to the island after the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution still do not want to enter into talks with the PRC Government.

In resolving its national tasks and striving to play a growing role in the political life of the Asia-Pacific region, China is currently devoting paramount attention to economic cooperation issues. It is via the Pacific that the Chinese economy is linked by thousands of threads to foreign countries. The PRC's most important partners at the present stage are Japan and the United States. In 1986 the volume of Sino-Japanese trade amounted to $15.5 billion, and Sino-U.S. trade volume was around $8 billion.

There are more than 300 projects on Chinese territory using a total of $2.7 billions (in accordance with agreements) in direct investment from the United States. Hong Kong capital and Chinese emigre business circles are providing great help in the PRC's modernization. China's economic contacts with Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the ASEAN countries have become diverse. At the same time the PRC is showing mounting interest in arranging cooperation with the socialist countries of the region, including the Soviet Union.

The PRC is joining more and more extensively in the economic integration processes in the Asia-Pacific region. An All-China Pacific Economic Cooperation Committee has been set up to that end. The PRC participates in the work of international organizations—particularly ESCAP [Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific], and since September 1986 China has been a member of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference. Zhao Ziyang, acting general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and premier of the PRC State Council, has put forward five principles for economic cooperation in the region: "mutual respect, the intensification of exchanges, equality, mutual advantage, and joint development." China stresses that the conditions needed for Asian and Pacific prosperity are peace and stability. The evolution of Chinese policy toward the implementation of these goals can only be welcomed.

Cocom Pressure Breaks Japan-PRC Deals

PM170825 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Sep 87 p 3

[Dispatch by TASS correspondent G. Arslanov: "A Tale About How To Remove a Competitor"]

[Text] Beijing—The transatlantic outcry that prompted Y. Nakasone's government to force the Toshiba company to break important contracts for the supply of industrial equipment to a number of socialist countries has affected the plans of many Chinese industrial enterprises. The production plans of a number of plants in Shenyang, Beijing, and other PRC cities have been wrecked. A Shenyang plant producing 160-horsepower tractors, for example, has not received equipment worth hundreds of thousands of dollars essential for production since the Japanese side has breached its signed contract. The plant has been forced to postpone the production of tractors badly needed by the country's national economy. At the same time the Japanese firm's U.S. partners have supplied this same plant with equipment totaling $7 million used to manufacture the same tractor.

As *China Daily* writes, the problems the Shenyang tractor plant has met are "only the tip of the iceberg." The total value of contracts for the supply of equipment to the PRC that have been canceled by Japanese firms comes to $1.8 billion. Toshiba representatives installing equipment at a Beijing machine building enterprise returned posthaste to Tokyo after the outcry from across the Atlantic. The plans for a compressor-producing plant in Shenyang have been disrupted. The reason is Toshiba's refusal to deliver drilling equipment essential for the startup of production.

The newspaper notes that the Japanese side may agree to pay the Chinese side some compensation for breach of contract. However, the real losses suffered now and in the future by the PRC enterprises cannot be made up for by the signing of ordinary compensation agreements. China is aware that Toshiba is not to blame for its breach of contract. It is the result of the Japanese government giving way to pressure from Cocom, which operates within the NATO framework and whose policy is determined across the Atlantic, *China Daily* points out.

PRC Envoy to U.S. Cited on Taiwan Issue

PM171243 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "XINHUA Reports"]

[Text] Beijing, 11 Sep—China cannot pledge "never to use force" in the solution of the Taiwan problem because if such a pledge were given there would never be any peace talks with Taiwan.

Xinhua reports this statement from New York, as made by PRC Ambassador to the United States Han Xu. He pointed out that China's approach toward the Taiwan question is structured in line with the concept of "One state—Two systems" and envisages "more favorable conditions than those which made it possible to resolve the problems of Hong Kong and Macao." "We consistently implement a policy of peaceful reunification," the Chinese representative noted.

"The Taiwan problem has always been a key question impeding the development of Sino-U.S. relations," Han Xu stressed, referring to the "Law on New Relations Between the United States and Taiwan," the continuing deliveries of U.S. weapons to Taipei, and official visits to Taiwan by U.S. officials and legislators.

'New Type' Satellite Launched, Landed
LD181054 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Beijing September 18 TASS—China successfully lifted off and returned a "new type of a research satellite". Leading Chinese newspapers report today that it was blasted off from the Cosmodrome Jiuquan (Gansu Province) on September 9 and landed in the Sichuan Province on September 17. The satellite was put into orbit with carrier rocket Changzheng-2 "having an increased engine capacity". The satellite carried 34 types of scientific instrumentation used by Chinese researchers during the orbital experiments.

Northeast Asia

USSR Apologizes for Airspace Violation
OW221445 Tokyo KYODO in English 1444 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 22 *Kyodo*—The Soviet Foreign Ministry Tuesday admitted a Soviet plane violated Japan's air space in August and made an apology to the Japanese Embassy in Moscow.

The ministry said the plane violated Japan's air space over Reibunto island in Hokkaido on August 27 but said the action was not intentional.

It pledged to take measures to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents, embassy officials said.

Reagan, Nakasone Discuss Gulf, Economy
LD220946 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Tokyo September 22 TASS—At his meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in New York today Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone voiced for the first time the official refusal to send his country's naval ships to the Persian Gulf.

But he still promised to decide on some kind of aid to American operations in the region before his government's term ends late next month, *Kyodo* news agency reported.

It added that this left a loophole for getting Tokyo involved in so-called collective Western action off Iranian and Iraqi shores.

Keen to alleviate Washington's discontent with the "passive approach" of his government to operations in the Gulf, Nakasone promised Reagan to allocate four billion dollars in "emergency aid to Latin American countries", which will go primarily to shore up pro-U.S. regimes in the region.

The Japanese premier also made a commitment to "apply further efforts" and toughen discriminatory restrictions on Japan's economic relations with socialist nations, which Washington has been strongly insisting on lately.

During the New York meeting Nakasone also agreed to meet what *Kyodo* described as an "unprecedented" demand by Reagan for increases in Japanese budgetary appropriations to stimulate domestic consumption, which should, in Washington's opinion, make for increased purchases of American goods.

The White House hopes in this way to trim the U.S. balance of payments deficit in trade with the Far Eastern ally, which reached nearly 60 billion dollars last year.

By making all these concessions, Nakasone was able to wrest from Reagan a promise to veto new American trade laws if they emerge from congressional debates with protectionist provisions against Japan.

Nakasone and Reagan at the meeting also exchanged so-called personal friendship charters. In the opinion of observers, the outgoing Japanese premier intends to use his copy of the propaganda document to win stronger positions for himself in local conservative quarters.

Dolgikh Begins Visit to Mongolia

Departs Moscow
PM221401 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On a Working Visit"]

[Text] V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Moscow for Ulaanbaatar 21 September for a working visit at the invitation of the MPRP Central Committee.

He was seen off at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.S. Pasternak and I.P. Yastrebov, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee Departments; and M.N. Smirnovskiy, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee Department.

Ts. Gombosuren, counselor-envoy at the Mongolian Embassy to the USSR, was among the sendoff party.

On the same day V.I. Dolgikh arrived in Ulaanbaatar. He was met at Bayantuhaa Airport by D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, P. Damdin, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and other officials.

K.E. Fomichenko, Soviet ambassador to Mongolia, was in the welcoming party.

Meets Batmonh

LD222048 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Sep 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Dolgikh is continuing a working visit to the Mongolian People's Republic. He was received today by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural. [Unidentified correspondent] Comrade Batmonh emphasized that Mongolian Communists and all working people regard the experience of the large-scale restructuring of Soviet society as a vivid example. At the meeting, the standard of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation was valued highly, at the same time, however, the necessity of increasing the efficiency of Mongolian-Soviet joint enterprises, as well as establishing new ones, was underlined. Concerning international questions, Comrade Batmonh stressed that the news of an agreement in principle between the Soviet Union and the United States regarding an agreement on liquidation of medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles has been received with joy in his country. The liquidation of the two classes of nuclear missiles is an unprecedented step, a truly historic event.

Vladimir Ivanovich Dolgikh laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Suhbaatar and Choybalsan, founders of the MPRP and the Mongolian people's state. A wreath was also laid by a monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin in the center of the Mongolian capital.

TETS-4—the most powerful TETS in the Mongolian People's Republic: It brings light and heat to the apartments of 300,000 inhabitants of Ulaanbaatar. [video shows Dolgikh wearing a red protective helmet while touring the TETS] The station was visited this morning by Vladimir Ivanovich Dolgikh. He familiarized himself with the work of power workers and builders who have pledged to get the station up to full capacity on the eve of the 70th anniversary of October.

The Vladimir Ilich Lenin Museum: Inside, Vladimir Ivanovich Dolgikh acquainted himself with historical documents and exhibits depicting the life and activity of Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

UN-Bound MPR Aide Stops Over in Moscow

PM231403 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Announcements"]

[Text] M. Dugersuren, Mongolian minister of foreign affairs, stopped over in Moscow 17-18 September en route for New York to attend the 42d Session of the UN General Assembly.

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Persian Gulf Incidents

'Emptiness' of Reagan Words

PM221547 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 87 First Edition p 5

[Own Correspondent V. Gan report: "The Persian Gulf: Fist Law"]

[Text] Washington, 22 Sep—As all the U.S.mass media have reported today, the kind of thing which the U.S. Congress and public so dreaded in the Persian Gulf has happened. Having concentrated its "mailed fist" in the region, the Pentagon has now used it for the first time, which is essentially tantamount to direct U.S. military intervention in the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Judging by the reports received, a U.S. helicopter gunship opened fire on and struck an Iranian ship after which the burning vessel hove to. The number of casualties is unknown. According to a Pentagon spokesman, the reason for the attack was the "suspicion" that the ship's crew had been laying mines in the Persian Gulf. He asserted that the U.S. helicopter's attack was a "defensive action" within the framework of "self-defense." In that context the Pentagon spokesman cited international law, which, he claimed, vindicates such actions by the United States. No one is vouching for the accuracy of the information, however, since, as CBS TV has stressed, the "incident occurred in darkness."

By an irony of fate the reports on the incident arrived within hours of President Reagan's speech to the 42d UN General Assembly session, during which he assured the world organization of Washington's lack of "hostile intentions" in the Persian Gulf. The conflagration aboard the Iranian ship has clearly highlighted the emptiness of the White House boss' bombastic reasoning. Washington's arguments about "self-defense" and "defensive action" will surely only fool the naive, to whom it will not occur to ask the logical question: Just what right does the United States have to undertake unilateral military actions in a region many thousands of kilometers from its borders?

IZVESTIYA on Attack

PM221527 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

["IZVESTIYA Press Service" report: "Persian Gulf: Iranian Ship Attacked"]

[Text] A U.S. combat helicopter attacked an Iranian landing craft on Monday, launching several missiles and opening machinegun fire. According to UPI reports, the incident occurred 80 km northeast of Bahrain.

U.S. Administration spokesman M. Fitzwater explained the attack on the Iranian ship by saying that its crew was supposedly "laying mines in international waters." UPI notes that this action was undertaken in line with "the rules set by U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger."

As already reported, last month a U.S. Air Force fighter launched a missile against an Iranian aircraft, but it missed.

"Iranian leaders are warning of the consequences of Western interference in the Gulf and leveling especially sharp criticism at the U.S. presence in the region. The possibility of a direct clash between Washington and Tehran has also caused concern in Congress," *Reuter* writes.

Meanwhile, four British minesweepers have joined operations to patrol the Persian Gulf region.

A Pentagon spokesman announced that the British tanker "Gentle Breeze" was fired on by an Iranian speedboat north of Bahrain Monday.

According to reports from New York, Prime Minister Y. Nakasone of Japan declared that his country "could give financial support to the efforts by other states to ensure peace in the Persian Gulf."

Shevardnadze on Ship Attack

DW221541 Moscow International Service in German 0900 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] An American helicopter from the missile frigate "Jarrett" has fired at an Iranian ship in the middle part of the Persian Gulf. The ship was damaged. A spokesman of the White House asserted that, during the attack, the crew of the ship was planting mines in international waters situated 50 nautical miles east of the coast of Bahrain. According to news agencies, that is the first case that the Americans opened firing at an Iranian target in the Gulf region.

The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is currently in New York to participate in the UN Plenary Assembly's session, stated that the incident is evidence of the danger of confrontation caused by the foreign [word indistinct] presence in the region. He emphasized that the Soviet Union, just because of that, is rejecting any military presence in the region.

Mines Found on Ship

LD221456 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Washington September 22 TASS — A group of American servicemen boarded and inspected the Iranian ship in the Persian Gulf, which has been damaged as a result of an attack by a U.S. helicopter.

A Pentagon spokesman claimed here today that four dead Iranian sailors and ten mines had been discovered aboard. Ten other crew members, four of them wounded, were picked up from a liferaft onto a U.S. warship.

The Pentagon said earlier that the Iranian ship had been attacked with fire Monday night because it had been dropping objects "identified as mines" into international waters.

Tehran Radio Report Cited

LD221727 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Paris September 22 TASS—The Iranian vessel, which was attacked by the U.S. Navy Monday evening, belonged to a civilian shipping company, Radio Tehran said. It also reported, according to *France Presse*, that the vessel was put at the disposal of the Iranian Navy and was used to supply a garrison in Port Bushire on the Persian Gulf coast. It had aboard a 30-man crew. Five of them died.

A communique by the Iranian Foreign Ministry read out on radio refutes U.S. contentions that this vessel was engaged in planting mines. This new crime by the United States is a flagrant violation of shipping rules in international waters, the communique says.

IRNA Reports Attack

LD221338 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] London September 22 TASS—Iran said today that Monday evening U.S. helicopter gunships attacked an Iranian trader in the Persian Gulf.

The report transmitted by the *Reuter* agency with reference to the Iranian IRNA news agency points out that the attacked vessel was "carrying foodstuffs but no armaments." It had no military equipment or instruments either, points out the IRNA statement.

Commentary Views Attack

OW230129 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Sep 87

["90 Minutes" program; Vsevolod Solovyev commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] The Pentagon officially announced that U.S. combat helicopters fired on an Iranian ship in international waters in the central Persian Gulf. Our commentary:

[Solovyev] Hello, comrades. According to the Pentagon statement, the order to fire on the Iranian ship came from the commander of the U.S. forces in the Middle East after it was determined that the ship was in the process of discharging unidentified objects into the sea. The Americans deemed these objects to be mines, and the actions of the Iranians were immediately declared hostile to U.S. ships. An order to attack the ship was given. Helicopters took of from the missile frigate "Jarrett," situated 15 miles from the target. They fired on the Iranian ship using large calibre machine guns and 70-mm missiles. A fire broke out on the ship.

It is well-known that the U.S. President has, on many occasions, stated that the concentration of the U.S. military armada in the Persian Gulf is a temporary action; temporary, since the presence of the U.S. Navy force in the Persian Gulf was, in the words of the President, necessary to ensure the safety of international trade routes. The thunder of the Iran-Iraq war can be heard over the Gulf as well. Already more than 300 vessels of various countries have been attacked by the warring sides. Besides, the White House, if one is to believe the President, was prepared to use force against anyone who would attack the vessels escorted by the U.S. Navy, to make both sides of the conflict see reason, and to pressure them to end the bloodshed. In truth, the U.S. military activities in the Persian Gulf, as presented by the Untied States, are nothing short of a blessing for the belligerent sides. Suddenly there is an attack on an Iranian ship. This is no logner merely a threat. As the United States finds itself increaingly involved in military opposition to Iran, the White House reveals its real plans for the Persian Gulf region. It appears that today Washington is not adverse to becoming the third belligerent party in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Beginning today, the Persian Gulf has become a combat zone for the United States.

U.S. Frigate Fires Warning Shots

LD230534 Moscow TASS in English 0530 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] September 23 TASS—The U.S. Navy guided missile frigate "Jarrett", which is in the Persian Gulf, on Tuesday fired several warning shots in the direction of an Iranian hovercraft which approached it to a distance of about one nautical mile.

According to a Pentagon report, the incident occurred while the frigate was towing another Iranian boat which had been fired upon by U.S. helicopters on Monday.

An AP photo correspondent who was on board the U.S. command headquarters ship "La Salle" testified that the Iranian hovercraft stopped at a distance of one kilometre away from the U.S. flagship and was conducting radio talks with it.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger sets out today on a tour to the Persian Gulf area, the Pentagon announced.

The program of his tour includes, in particular, visits to Saudi Arabia and Bahrain as well as to U.S. military units stationed in the Gulf area.

A Pentagon spokesman maintained that the defense secretary's tour had been planned for several weeks and was not connected with the latest developments in the Persian Gulf.

Envoy to Rome on Gulf, Gorbachev

AU230854 Rome ANSA in English 0834 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] (ANSA) Rome—The Soviet Union is prepared to withdraw its fleet from the Persian Gulf if others will do the same, according to the Soviet ambassador to Rome, Nikolay Lunkov, who talked to journalists here Tuesday.

"There is such a huge concentration of military forces in the area that efforts to put an end the stupid war between Iran and Iraq are being held up", the ambassador said.

Asked about Monday night's incident when a United States helicopter attacked an Iranian ship allegedly laying mines in the Gulf, the ambassador said that he "hoped it would not contribute to a further deterioration of the Gulf situation".

Lunkov than turned to reports in Western press recently that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was suffering from severe food poisoning, saying that he knew absolutely nothing about it.

The ambassador reminded journalists of the appeal made by Gorbachev in the Moscow daily *Pravda*, last week and said that the Soviet leader felt that the United Nations needed to play an even greater role in world events.

Italy's "very positive" stance on the September 18 nuclear missile limitation accord signed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union was praised by Lunkov, who said that Gorbachev was hoping to be able to visit Italy soon.

U.S. Role in Gulf, Settlement Viewed

PM221043 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Sep 87 First Edition p 3

[G. Musayelyan article: "Iran-Iraq: The Hidden Springs of the Conflict"]

[Text] It takes a 6-hour car ride to travel from Baghdad to Basra, which lies in the south of Iraq. No matter where you look you can see the greenery of growing crops, gardens, and clusters of date palms laden with ripe dark amber fruit. And the Tigris River shimmers like a faithful companion, bringing memories of the tales of the "Thousand and One Nights."

These prosperous places, steeped in history, have attracted travelers over the ages. And in our time, only 7 years ago, tourists from many foreign countries used to flock to Basra, which had become Iraq's largest industrial center with a population of 1 million. Today this city is essentially on the frontline. The symbol of Basra's past prosperity—the Sheraton Hotel where I had stayed in the past—is totally peppered by shell fragment scars.

The bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq is now in its 8th year. About 1.5 million human lives have been sacrificed to the merciless Moloch of war during that time. The material damage suffered by both countries is in excess of 500 billion dollars. Millions of people have been left homeless. The economies of both countries are in a most serious condition. But neither of them is anywhere near victory. Using chess terminology, many international observers speak of a stalemate situation prevailing on the battlefields.

It must be stressed that perhaps no other result could have been expected. Because the Western monopolies, having inflated the prices of arms and earning fabulous superprofits, controlled the dosage of military injections and "equalized" the adversaries' forces. The result was that everything was reduced to a protracted and pointless self-destruction of the resources of the participants in the conflict. In order not to make empty claims, let me quote a statement by one of those "arms dealers," a spokesman of the French concern Thomson: "If Iran and Iraq were to suddenly make peace," he argues, "we would lose Tehran as a client for ever. And this simply cannot be allowed." The same objectives are pursued by the United States, tangible evidence of which is provided by "Irangate."

These jesuitical tactics by the United States, Israel, and the European NATO countries are having an increasingly pernicious effect on the general situation in the world. They are leading to growing terrorism in different continents. There is a growing threat that the zone of military operations could expand beyond the borders of Iran and Iraq and that other states may get involved in the conflict.

There can be no doubt that the absence of a settlement of the conflict is determined by the policy of the United States and its allies. "Throughout the last 130 years the imperialist countries have striven to exercise political, military, and economic control over the richest and strategically important region of the Persian Gulf," the British newspaper *Morning Star* writes. "Following the end of World War II, bloody conflicts, wars, and clashes have raged there on many occasions. Tension in this hot spot of the planet has not eased today. The constantly maintained explosive situation in this region is a direct consequence of the policy of imperialist states, and primarily of the United States."

What is it that constantly attracts the imperialist sharks to the Persian Gulf zone? The answer is simple: About 60 percent of the entire capitalist world's oil reserves is concentrated there. This region's "black gold" is vitally necessary for industrially developed capitalist countries. This is indeed one of the main reasons behind the continuing Iran-Iraq war.

The Persian Gulf also plays an important role in U.S. geopolitical plans. Hypocritically claiming that the Soviet Union is allegedly "poised" to gain control over this important sea region, Washington is trying to act as the "defender" of the oil-producing states in the Arabian Peninsula. How does it intend to do this? It is trying by all means to obtain rights to use the territory of these countries, their air space, and their sea ports for its military-strategic purposes. The main objective of such maneuvers is to turn these bases into an outpost for possible operations against the Soviet Union, bearing in mind the proximity of the southern Soviet borders. A particular role in achieving the set goals has been assigned to the U.S. Central Command (Centcom), which has been given responsibility for controlling U.S. troops in the region both in peacetime and in war. The number of U.S. warships in and near the Persian Gulf is already in excess of 40 units. According to Walters, U.S. representative at the United Nations, his government would not withdraw its armed forces even if peace were to be established there tomorrow.

In these conditions, all who value international security are striving to extinguish the Iran-Iraq conflagration as soon as possible. Hitherto these efforts have produced no results. But now there is UN Security Council Resolution 598 of 20 July, demanding an end to the war. It creates more realistic prerequisites than before for coordinated collective actions furthering the establishment of peace in the Gulf. The USSR, advocating such constructive actions, proposed that ships belonging to all states which are not connected with the region be withdrawn. Iraq has accepted Resolution 598. Its government noted the presence of certain positive elements in the document, but voiced a number of reservations. Finally, the visit by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to Baghdad and Tehran, even though accompanied by difficulties and complexities, still gives rise to some hope and the possibility of peace finally dawning over the lands of Iran and Iraq, washed by blood and covered in ashes.

Official on Gulf War, Soviet Stand

LD111321 Kuwait KUNA in English 0918 GMT 11 Sep 87

[Text] Kuwait, Sept 11 (KUNA) — A Soviet official was quoted here Friday as saying Moscow entirely discounts a military solution of the Gulf war and strongly condemns any aggression against Kuwait.

Head of Persian Gulf department at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Aleksandr Ivanov-Galetsyn told Kuwaiti daily *Al-Anba'* in an interview the visit to Moscow two days ago by an Arab League delegation was particularly important because it cleared "doubts" which have recently engulfed Moscow's efforts to halt the Gulf war.

"The Soviet leadership explained to the Arab delegation our point of view with special emphasis that there was no double standard tactics in the Soviet attitude," said the Soviet official who was interviewed in Moscow.

Moscow, he added, firmly stands for expediting a Gulf war settlement to establish peace in the region.

The Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the Security Council, has supported the July council resolution which called for a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq but was against another proposed resolution clamping an arms embargo on Iran for failing to accept the ceasefire call.

Moscow "in principle" supports an arms embargo on the side which refuses to halt the war but prefers not to push things too fast, the Soviet Foreign Ministry official stressed.

He indicated that by allowing Iran more time to rethink its position and comply with the Security Council Resolution 598, Moscow was trying not to let the world

body's "unique" resolution turn into a useless document.

Galetsyn said the visit of the Arab delegation to Moscow was also of special importance because it took place at a time when efforts to settle the Iran-Iraq war reached a deadlock.

The delegation which included foreign ministers of Kuwait, Iraq, North Yemen and Arab League chief executive Wednesday discussed in Moscow the Soviet Union's role in bringing the Gulf war to an end.

"The talks were important and very useful in helping nudge settlement efforts, regardless of the existing difficulties," he said. Galetsyn described the situation in the Gulf as "tragic" but said "we are optimistic."

Asked if he thought Iran's partial acceptance of the 598 Resolution would be another maneuver by Tehran, he said the credibility of the Iranian stance largely hinges on the peace mission to Tehran (?today) by U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Responding to a question, he said a thaw in relations between Tehran and Moscow was prompted by mounting American pressure on Iran, which made Iran realize that Moscow was earnest in trying to halt the war and bring about peace in the Gulf region.

Tehran also realized that Moscow is no enemy and that the Soviet Union instead considers Iran an anti-imperialist state which is seeking to remain independent in its stances.

On his country's ties with Iraq, the official hoped cooperation between Moscow and Baghdad would be an example to be followed by other Arab states.

He emphasized that Moscow was seeking good links with all countries of the region including Iran "but not at the expense of another party."

He ruled out that Perez de Cuellar's mission to Tehran would fail but added that if Iran insisted on rejecting Resolution 598, the Soviet Union would call for talks between the permanent members of the Security Council and the countries involved in the conflict to explore new approaches.

On prospects of a Gulf war spillover, the official said the Soviet Union "deeply understands" the concern of Kuwait and other Gulf states over serious escalation.

"We reject and strongly condemn any aggressions that would threaten Kuwait's security and people," Galetsyn concluded.

Sub-Saharan Africa

U.S. Plans To Send Stingers to Chad

PM181135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Chad: Stingers Here, Too"]

[Text] Washington, 17 Sep—Washington will soon be making a decision to send "around two dozen" Stinger surface-to-air missiles to Chad. Citing a "source in the administration" when reporting this fact, *The Washington Post* points out that the final decision on this question will be made "in a few weeks' time." Between 30 and 90 days after the decision is made, it writes, the first missiles will be delivered to Ndjamena. According to *The Washington Post*, the administration has notified Paris—the main arms supplier to Chad—about the upcoming U.S. decision on this question. There have been no objections from Paris.

The question of the supply of U.S. armaments including surface-to-air missiles to Ndjamena's troops was raised during a visit to Washington in June by Chad President Hissein Habre. A high-ranking administration spokesman stated at that time that the U.S. aid to Chad will amount to "35-45 million dollars a year." U.S. Redeye antiaircraft missiles are among the weapons already sent there.

More on Zaykov Activities in Ethiopia

LD122142 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Sep 87

[Text] Today in Addis Ababa a meeting took place between Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is heading the Soviet party and state delegation which is on a visit, and Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

The head of the Soviet delegation conveyed a personal message to Mengistu, from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. During the talks held it was confirmed with satisfaction that the positions of our parties and countries coincide on fundamental matters regarding the international situation. The necessity for new political thinking in the interests of preventing a nuclear catastrophe and preserving peace on the planet was underlined.

On the same day, the Soviet delegation laid a wreath of scarlet carnations at the monument commemorating the heroes of the Ethiopian revolution. Wreaths and flowers were also laid by the leaders of the WPE, the Ethiopian state, public organizations, and by numerous foreign guests at the eternal flame in memory of those who have given their lives for a bright future of the peoples.

Also today, Comrade Zaykov met with the party aktiv of the USSR Embassy and other establishments in the People's Republic of Ethiopia. A fundamental, friendly talk was held regarding the practical implementation of the decisions of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Attends Parade

LD131942 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 13 Sep 87

[Text] Addis Ababa, 13 September (TASS)—TASS correspondents Gennadiy Gabrielyan and Boris Grishchenko report: A brilliant demonstration of the cohesion

of the masses around the Workers Party of Ethiopia and their desire to play an active role in the construction of a new life was shown in the celebrations of the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the 13th anniversary of the revolution. A demonstration by the working people and a military parade took place today in Addis Ababa. Present on the central rostrum in Revolution Square were Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia and president of the republic, and L.N. Zaykov, head of the Soviet Party and state delegation, and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Visits Tractor Plant

LD112201 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 11 Sep 87

[Text] Addis Ababa September 11 TASS—TASS correspondents Gennadiy Gabrielyan and Boris Grischenko report:

The workers of the tractor assembly plant in the city of Nazret, [word indistinct] the capital, cordially welcomed the Soviet party-and-state delegation today.

The delegation, led by Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are attending the festivities on the occasion of the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) and the 13th anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution.

The workers and engineers told the Soviet guests that the first tractors of the Nazret make are the brothers of the world famous tractors made in Minsk [words indistinct] came off the conveyers exactly three years ago. There is an increasing demand for them on the part of peasant cooperatives and state-run farms.

At the entrance to one of the plant's shops, Lev Zaykov had a meeting with the plant personnel.

"The Soviet Union, true to its internationalist duty, not only wants to see friendly Ethiopia a country with modern industry and agriculture, an advanced science and education system, but also does much to further strengthen all-round contacts with your country," said the leader of the Soviet party-and-state delegation.

"The Soviet people, the peoples of other socialist countries [words indistinct] said, "encounter a serious threat nowadays. Imperialist reaction [word indistinct] its purpose is to try to edge socialism out and, moreover, to remove it from the face of the earth altogether."

"Serving as the [word indistinct] that policy are cynical interference in the internal affairs of soveriegn countries, and attempts at stifling the revolutionary and liberation movements. Of course, the current actions of imperialism increase the threat of war, and not simply war, but a nuclear one."

"This is why the Soviet Union, just as all upholders of reason on earth, has considered and considers it necessary to do everything to give a fitting rebuff to those actions and to prevent war. The peace forces possess immense resources nowadays."

"These are the Soviet Union and the socialist community with their defence and economic might, the international communist, working-class and national liberation movements, a new anti-war movement which is unprecedented in scope and social diversity, anti-imperialist forces of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These include the Nonaligned Movement, and finally realistically-minded groups and figures in capitalist countries [word indistinct]. The matter concerns the need to enlist this entire anti-war potential, to unite all forces that cherish peaceful skies over our planet, and to prevent the ominous designs of imperialism from coming true."

"We Soviet people are gratified that the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia consistently participates together with us in the work for peace."

In the afternoon the delegation attended the closing ceremony of the first session of the National Assembly of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Meets PDRY's Al-Bid

LD121542 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1326 GMT 12 Sep

[Text] Addis Ababa, 12 Sep (TASS)—The head of the Soviet party and state delegation, Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting here today with Al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party [YSP] Central Committee. During the conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of comradeship and mutual understanding, the desire for further development and deepening of friendly cooperation between the CPSU and the YSP and between the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] was stressed.

The delegation is in Addis Ababa to attend the ceremonies on the occasion of the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the 13th anniversary of the revolution.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD140849 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0735 GMT 14 Sep 87

[Text] Addis Ababa, 14 Sep (TASS)—The Soviet party and state delegation headed by L. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee scretary, which has been taking part in the ceremonies of the occasion of the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) and the 13th anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution, today left for the homeland. At Bole Airport, where the

state flags of the USSR and the PDRE were raised, the delegation was seen off by Ashagre Yigletu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) and member of the PDRE State Council.

Before his departure the head of the Soviet delegation made a statement in which he expressed his deep gratitude to the Ethiopian leadership and to the whole Ethiopian people for the cordiality and warm reception that the delegation was given during its stay in Ethiopia. The detailed and amicably frank conversation with Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam and meetings between members of the Soviet delegation and other representatives of the Ethiopian leadership have once again confirmed the total unity of our aims in the struggle for peace and social progress for the welfare of the peoples of the USSR and Ethiopia and the whole of mankind, and have demonstrated the fraternal nature of the relations that exist between our parties and peoples, he said.

East Europe

Zhivkov Hails U.S.-USSR Arms Understanding

LD221407 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Sofia September 22 TASS—Todor Zhivkov has hailed the Soviet-U.S. understanding in principle to sign an agreement to wipe out two classes of nuclear weapons as a historic triumph of political realism, will and readiness for sensible compromises in dealing with problems of vital importance to all mankind.

The general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was speaking in an interview with the Bulgarian news agency.

The Soviet-U.S. accords, he said, were a result of a consistent and flexible Soviet foreign policy which had been reaffirmed and developed in Mikhail Gorbachev's programmatic article "Reality and the Guarantees of a Secure World".

Zhivkov described that article by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee as a logical followup on the ideas voiced at the 27th Congress of the CPSU for creating a nuclear-free world and as a step promoting a new manner of political thinking.

Zhivkov expressed the hope that the forthcoming meeting between Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan would exert positive influence on the Soviet-U.S. relationship, on East-West dialogue and on the entire international situation.

The Soviet Union's policy and efforts for establishing a comprehensive system of international security, he said, were the policy and efforts of all socialist countries and their jointly elaborated international strategy.

Bulgarian Envoy Speaks on National Day

LD110516 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 9 Sep 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Presenter] The Bulgarian people are today marking the day of freedom, the 43d anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Taking part in our program is Georgi Pankov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the USSR.

[Pankov, speaking Russian] Dear Soviet friends! We are marking the 43d anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria at a significant time, when the Soviet people, the country of Lenin, and all progressive peoples of the world will be festively celebrating the 70th jubilee of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Great October was also a beacon for the Bulgarian people in its long and difficult struggle against capitalism and monarchic fascism and, with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, in the implemented socialist revolution of 9 September 1944. During the years that have gone by, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has attained great successes. This is shown by the achieved growth in the national income, which has increased 14-fold.

Today the efforts of our people are directed at fulfilling the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress on a qualitatively new growth in all spheres of life, at fulfilling the decisions of the July Plenum of our party.

The generally acknowledged successes of Bulgaria in the construction of socialism are connected by us with the creative application of the world wide historic experience of the CPSU, and with the course of our parties for comprehensive cooperation and rapprochement of our two countries with (?crystal-clear) Bulgarian-Soviet friendship.

Bilateral relations have acquired unprecedented dynamism and breadth in all areas of life. The decisions of our party congresses and the accords of Comrades Zhivkov and Gorbachev have raised these relations to a new and higher level. We have begun the use and assertion of most progressive forms of economic cooperation and integration: the establishment of direct ties between enterprises and associations; and the creation of joint enterprises and scientific-research collectives, including on the basis of common ownership.

Restructuring in Soviet society arouses great interest in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian people warmly support the CPSU'S new course because they are firmly convinced that it will play a decisive role in the attainment of historic aims, being the revolutionary continuation of the cause of October. Our country actively supports the widescale proposals of the Soviet Union and the initiatives of Warsaw Pact member states. This is a realistic program for saving mankind from nuclear catastrophe.

Dear friends! Permit me on behalf of the Bulgarian people to wish you good health and great successes in the fulfillment of the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU

Congress, and to cordially congratulate you on the approaching jubilee of Great October. Thank you for your attention.

Joint Bulgarian Chemical Association Set Up

PM161325 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[V. Vinogradov dispatch: "Joint Work Has Started"]

[Text] Penza—An international Soviet-Bulgarian association—Khimbiomash—has been set up. It is made up of the Penza "Penzmash" Science and Production Association and the "Khimmash" Technological Combine in the Bulgarian city of Khaskovo.

The first session of the association's council, at which its leadership was approved, has been held in Penza. The council adopted a program for the "Khimbiomash" Association's scientific and technical activities in 1987-1988 and an industrial output plan for the coming year.

The "Khimbiomash" Association will concentrate on the specialization and production sharing of its constituent enterprises and the development and manufacture of fundamentally new, highly productive equipment for enterprises in the chemical and microbiological industry.

Emil Dimov, deputy chairman of the "Khimbiomash" Council and director general of the "Khimmash" combine, rated highly the establishment of the international Soviet-Bulgarian association.

"The establishment of our association," he said, "will enable us to make effective use of the scientific and technical potential and production facilities of both countries and will speed up scientific and technical progress at all enterprises that make up the new 'Khimbiomash' Association. This is the second time that I have visited my Penza colleagues. They have accumulated a great deal of experience in planning and technological development work and the introduction of its results in production. I would particularly like to mention the installation for gas-flame heat treatment developed at the local scientific research institute. I liked the production equipment I saw at the enterprises, and my familiarization with the social sphere has left me with a good impression. In every shop there are convenient facilities and premises for workers' recreation."

I. Novikov, chairman of the "Khimbiomash" Council and director general of the "Penzmash" Science and Production Association, also paid tribute to the creation of the international Soviet-Bulgarian association. A group of Soviet and Bulgarian specialists has embarked on implementing the decisions of the "Khimbiomash" Association Council.

PRAVDA Details Current Reforms in Bulgaria

PM131715 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 87 First Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondents L. Zhmyrev and Ye. Fadeyev under the rubric "Bulgaria Today": "At the New Stage"]

[Text] Sofia—The *Pravda* editorial office has been receiving letters in which our readers inquire about the changes in socialist Bulgaria and ask for a more detailed account of the processes taking place in that fraternal country's life.

"Acceleration," "restructuring," "democratization"—these terms, now familiar to Soviet people, have recently been appearing increasingly frequently in the Bulgarian political vocabulary too. They were heard during the BCP Central Committee July plenum and at the session of the People's Assembly, where a number of documents aimed at improving the socialist society were adopted.

The BCP Central Committee plenum discussed the "Basic Provisions of the Concept for the Further Building of Socialism in Bulgaria." The opening address on the documents, which was issued in advance, was delivered by T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council. His speech and the speeches of the 24 participants in the discussion were published in the Bulgarian press either in full or in detailed accounts.

Now about the session itself: It decided to set up four organs under the Bulgarian Council of Ministers. They are councils dealing with economic matters, social matters, spiritual development, and the development of agriculture and the timber industry. As of 1 January next year a number of ministries and state committees will be abolished. Eight posts of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers will be abolished. Four new ministries are to be created: Economics and Planning; Foreign Economic Ties; Arable Farming and Forestry; and Culture, Science, and Education. The Ministry of Public Health has been redesignated the Ministry of Health and Social Security.

New administrative territorial units are being created—nine oblasts in place of the system of okrugs. It is stressed that the enlargement of the administrative territorial units is not merely a reduction of the administrative apparatus—the main aim is to create a qualitatively new type of administration based on self-management.

What are the oblasts? Burgas, Varna, Lovech, Mikhaylovgrad, Plovdiv, Razgrad, Sofia, Khaskovo, and Sofia City, which has oblast status.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo recently published a resolution entitled "On the Need for Thorough Changes in the Attributes of Power in Accordance With the Decisions of the BCP Central Committee July (1987) Plenum." (For a report see *Pravda*, 12 August).

What is the purpose of the various searches now in progress in Bulgarian society?

"When speaking about present-day realities we have in mind the new stage that the socialist countries and, above all, the socialist community are now entering," the BCP Central Committee plenum document points out.

The socialist states have chosen the path of dynamic, intensive development based on scientific and technical progress and the use of their advantages in both the economic and the social and spiritual spheres. The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee January and June plenums are of historic significance not only for the Soviet land but also for all the fraternal countries, including Bulgaria. "We are faced with the task," the document goes on to note, "not simply of overcoming the shortcomings that exist. It is necessary to develop a new model of our socialist society to implement the party's strategic course aimed at qualitatively new growth."

The strategic goal—to bring Bulgaria to the forefront of the scientific and technical revolution and transform it into a highly developed and cultured socialist state—was defined by the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and subsequent plenums. Work is now under way to give that course concrete form.

As is well known, the principle of electiveness applies to economic leaders of primary and middle rank in Bulgaria and a new Labor Code has been introduced, as have new provisions on cooperatives and the collective and individual labor activity of citizens. The activity of the banking system is being restructured and economic associations of a new type are being established. The process of transferring state power into the hands of labor collectives has begun. The Council of the Board of Bulgaria's Central Cooperative Union has decided to place cooperative property directly at the disposal of primary labor collectives.

These steps, our Bulgarian friends believe, create the preconditions for a change from predominantly administrative methods of management to economic methods and from the management of society based on the principle of power in the name of the people to the power of the people themselves.

The BCP Central Committee organ *Rabotnichesko Delo* writes in this regard: "We are not rejecting what has been done, we are rejecting the methods, means, and approaches contained in the old model of socialist creation. We are rejecting them because the old model has already exhausted its potential and because its methods and approaches are becoming an impediment to revealing the advantages of the socialist system. The new model of socialist building requires fundamentally new methods and approaches and above all the assertion of self-management to the maximum degree."

The principle of self-management also forms the basis of the restructuring of production relations, planning, cooperatives, the administrative apparatus, and economic management.

Self-management, our Bulgarian friends told us, means above all glasnost, electiveness, and a competitive system for the appointment and replacement of cadres. It has been decided to make substantial changes to the electoral system at all levels. Two or more candidates must be nominated for every vacancy.

The introduction of the principles of self-management, our interlocutors noted, does not mean the "end" of state power or the "undermining" of the state. But the organs of state administration—the Bulgarian People's Assembly, State Council, and Council of Ministers—need restructuring, according to our Bulgarian comrades. This work of creating new political and economic structures has already begun. "Restructuring requires exceptional attention to cadres who will have to change their place of work. In this there must be no subjectivism, attempts to settle personal scores, lack of principle, or disregard for others," an editorial in *Rabotnichesko Delo* points out.

In the future central organs will function as organs of people's self-management. "If that fact is forgotten, we shall be caught up in a system of hierarchical structures constantly regenerating bureaucracy," the plenum noted. But that is not all. People here believe the "vertical" principle of self-management (that is, at the level of teams, shops, enterprises, associations, and so forth), must be augmented by the "horizonial" principle—at village, community, and oblast level. With regard to the territorial aspect it is proposed to make the community the main unit of self-management.

Attention also centers on the more important and complex question of the BCP'S place and role in restructuring and the development of self-management. The BCP Central Committee Plenum put it like this: All that has been conceived cannot be implemented unless the party restructures itself. The party finds new sources of influence and strength in the principles of self-management as the power of the people themselves. As a result of this, the plenum noted, the process of transforming the BCP from the party of the working class into the party of all the people is being accelerated.

During the Central Committee Plenum's work sharp criticism was leveled at manifestations of bureaucracy, the lack of criticism in the existing party apparatus, and its tendency to supplant state organs. To ensure that the principle of self-management is really effective it is necessary to break the monopoly of a small circle of people within the echelons of power. The main opponent of restructuring is the old way of thinking, exemplified by the bureaucratic apparatus and, above all, its "middle echelon," which, as the "Basic Provisions" note, was to a considerable extent responsible for the failure of important party initiatives by devaluing them before they reached the broad people's masses. The "middle echelon," the participants in the discussion said, must be deprived of the functions of "transmitters of decisions" from above to below and must be relieved of their "diplomatic immunity," their sense of impunity, and their lack of accountability for work not done or done badly.

These ideas and other urgent questions of restructuring are due to be discussed at a national party conference next December.

The work of the BCP Central Committee Plenum and the People's Assembly sessions and the new documents

now being discussed in the Republic showed Bulgarian Communists' desire, on the basis of the common objective features of socialism, to find their own model of socioeconomic development corresponding to the present-day level of Bulgaria's productive and spiritual forces. The projected restructuring, our friends told us, is no short-term campaign but a lengthy and complex process. There will be difficulties, because a historic breakthrough is being accomplished. If we do not muster all our forces to carry out the tasks that we have planned in the economic and other spheres we shall discredit the very idea of restructuring—that is the opinion of those we have met in recent days.

There is no need to hurry in making this or that decision, people said to us, as the small amount of experience gained in the restructuring of society must be supported and made the property of all. There is one issue here—strengthening socialism and formulating the concept—on behalf of and for the benefit of man.

Ognyan Panov, director of the BCP Central Committee Institute of Social Management, said:

We are talking about a new strategic course, a breakthrough in the republic's socioeconomic development. Is this another kind of socialism? I should like to use the Soviet definition of restructuring—"more socialism"—because the goal of restructuring is to release society's deep potential forces....

Within society itself and the mass media discussions are now in progress, reactions are being printed, and different viewpoints and opinions are being expressed on the main areas of restructuring. Here are a few examples.

Zemedelsko Zname, the organ of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, stresses the urgent need to create oblasts in place of okrugs. The paper points out that the new administrative territorial structures are designed to "eliminate the self-generating administrative base and local favoritism and to involve communities in extensive territorial complexes."

There is a lively discussion in progress about the "attributes of power." Bulgaria's newspapers regularly print readers' letters pointing to "tedious ostentation and ballyhoo," and "formalism and stereotyped work in the implementation of various social actions." Many writers support in particular the decision to abolish the titles "people's" and "honored cultural figure." "There have been quite a few people in our history who have received this title from the people themselves not by decree but sincerely and wholeheartedly," one such letter stresses. But it goes without saying that there are other opinions expressed in the current discussion.

Readers also note the significance of the personal example set by leaders in the creation of a moral climate and support the opinion that they should be motivated not by subjective factors but by principled tenets in their work.

Speaking about the attributes of power, *Rabotnichesko Delo* notes that the BCP Central Committee Politburo resolution aimed at combating a whole series of negative, formal, ostentatious phenomena reflects people's mood.

Yes, an interesting and difficult process is now in progress in Bulgaria aimed at improving the socialist society. Life will show what is good and acceptable and what is wrong, what is clearly out of date and has become unnecessary, and what it will discard as having failed the test. That is the theme under discussion now at the oblast aktiv conferences, where the urgent tasks facing party organizations and labor collectives are being examined.

In conclusion, we would like to make the following point. Both at the BCP Central Committee July Plenum and the Bulgarian People's Assembly session and in conversations with us, Bulgarian comrades have stressed the great significance for Bulgaria of the USSR's experience of restructuring. They have said that on the whole Bulgaria's strategic course coincides with the aims and principles of the changes now taking place in our country and in other socialist community states. The deepening of all-around cooperation and the rapprochement with the Soviet Union and the active participation in the socialist and international division of labor are inseparable from the aims of restructuring in socialist Bulgaria.

GDR Daily Calls Honecker FRG Trip 'Success'

PM181029 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Aim of Ensuring Peace"]

[Text] Berlin, 16 Sep—The official visit to the FRG by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, its results, and the agreements reached are a success for political reason and realism, *Neues Deutschland* writes today.

The talks between the two countries' leaders, the commentary states, were typified by one aim—to ensure that war never again eminates from German soil. The adherence of both sides to this commitment stemming from their common history is of fundamental importance.

The GDR leader's visit to the FRG, the newspaper goes on to note, has shown that the German leadership—in the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG—adopts different and even opposed positions on fundamental sociopolitical issues. However, on both sides there was a prevailing desire for mutual understanding, cooperation, and eradication of confrontation. In the nuclear age peace cannot be secured by accumulating arms. The security of one side is a prerequisite for the security of the other. Both German states, as firm links in the most powerful military coalitions of our time, have reaffirmed their commitment to make an active contribution to the cause of peace, disarmament, and detente. In this connection both sides pledged to promote the achievement of positive results at the talks between the USSR and the United States. International attention has been drawn to the joint statement of the GDR and the FRG in support of preventing an arms race in space and ending it on

earth, to the importance that both sides attach to the Helsinki process for a stable and lasting peace on our continent, and to the assessment of the unvaryingly positive impact of the 3 September 1971 Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin on the situation in Central Europe and East-West Relations.

Safeguarding peace is also the main question for developing GDR-FRG relations. Lasting good-neighborliness requires respect for the realities that emerged as a result of World War II and postwar development. Any unrealistic waffling about uniting the two German states can only have a destabilizing effect and undermine the equilibrium that exists in Europe. The GDR advocates dialogue and businesslike cooperation with the FRG rather than confrontation, *Neues Deutschland* stresses.

GDR Official Hails USSR Energy Cooperation

PM170849 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Pashenkin report: "Diplomas Awarded by Soviet VUZ's"]

[Text] Berlin—Numerous events are taking place at the Soviet science and culture center—meetings, conferences, symposiums, discussions, and concerts on the theme of the approaching 70th anniversary of Great October.

Recently a meeting was held here for GDR specialists in the power industry and coal mining spheres who are also graduates of Soviet power industry VUZ's in Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, and other cities in our country. The participants in the meeting, many of whom are now managers in that sector, leaders of power generation, and major scientists, stressed the durability and depth of the fraternal friendship and cooperation linking the GDR and the USSR and the considerable mutual benefit our countries derive as a result.

H. Krause, GDR deputy minister for coal and energy, who also graduated from a Soviet VUZ, noted in conversation with your correspondent that the development of the power industry in the GDR is simply inconceivable without the closest cooperation with the USSR and the assistance of Soviet specialists. This cooperation is developing particularly fruitfully in the construction of nuclear and thermal power stations in the GDR. He cited such major GDR power industry projects as the Greifswald and Stendal nuclear power stations and the Bocks Berg and Jenschwald thermal power stations. My interlocutor rated highly Soviet specialists' participation and selfless labor in developing this sector of the GDR economy and their contribution to preparing and training skilled specialists. As for GDR workers and specialists, they participate in the construction of gas pipelines in the USSR, and the republic's scientists have been working on the problem of the rational consumption of energy sources and other projects in which the USSR has a great interest.

I should like to stress in particular, H. Krause concluded, that cooperation between the two countries' specialists not only brings real economic benefits, their joint labor also helps to strengthen and expand the long-standing traditions of friendship and achieve the further rapprochement of our peoples.

SFRY's Pozderac Resigns Over Economic Affair

PM181301 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Sep 87 p 3

[TASS report: "TANJUG Report"]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Sep—*Tanjug* has reported that Hamdija Pozderac has resigned as deputy chairman and member of the SFRY Presidium. He announced his decision at yesterday's session of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee Presidium. He is representative of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the state's collective leadership. Explaining his decision, H. Pozderac stressed that it was made after "a thorough examination of all the elements in the political situation that has arisen as a result of the Agrokomerc affair."

As is well known, major financial intrigues have been brought to light at this agroindustrial association in Bosnia-hercegovina. Bills of exchange and other securities with no monetary backing were circulated over a long period of time unbder the knowledge and with the participation of the Agrokomerc managers. The actions of the association's management have been assessed in the republic and the Federation as "undermining the economic system and the efforts of the whole of society to overcome our economic difficulties."

The republic party organization's Central Committee Presidium has accepted the reasons and motives given by H. Pozderac for his decision. It was noted that this decision reflects his understanding of "the importance of communist consistency and principle."

RSFSR Delegation Visits Montenegro

PM181109 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Sep 87 Second Edition

[TASS report dated 16 September: "Meetings in Montenegro"]

[Text] The traditionally friendly and mutually advantageous relations between the RSFSR and the SR of Montenegro (SFRY) are developing successfully. This is evidenced by the visit to Montenegro of an RSFSR delegation headed by N.I. Maslennikov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. The Soviet guests have been received by R. Brajovic, president of the Montenegro Presidency, and V. Vukadinovic, chairman of the Republic Assembly Executive Council. During talks with a Montenegro delegation headed by B. Kostic, deputy chairman of the Republic Executive Council, there was an exchange of information on the resolution of urgent problems of political and socioeconomic development in the republics. It was pointed out with satisfaction that Soviet-Yugoslav relations are characterized by trust and mutual understanding, and that multifaceted, mutually advantageous cooperation is developing between the countries.

CPCZ'S Havelin, Yakovlev Meet in Moscow

LD162155 Prague CTK in English 1820 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow Sept 16 (CTK correspondent)—Soviet Communist Party Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev today received Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Josef Havlin, who is on a working visit in the Soviet Union.

They discussed extension of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in education, science and culture.

Josef Havlin also met today with President of the Academy of Sciences Guriy Marchuk with whom he exchanged information on the tasks of the two countries' scientific institutes and universities and coordination of scientific research in key branches.

Extension of cooperation in improving the education system and scientific research in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union also dominated Josef Havlin's discussion with representatives of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Department of Science and Education today.

IZVESTIYA Views CSSR Price-Reform Theory

PM181629 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by L. Kornilov, IZVESTIYA correspondent, under the rubric "Viewpoint": "How To Bring Prices Into Line"]

[Text] Prague—Prices are an inseparable key element of the economic mechanism. It therefore comes as no surprise that prices have been assigned a considerable role to play in today's economy. This regulation of the entire complex of value indicators and particularly prices, as their basic "cell," is now linked with many problems both within the country itself and in its relations with foreign partners. It is often the case that in conversations about self-financing or the development of direct links, for example, both in our country and here, in the CSSR, you hear people say: "But prices are an impediment! They do not correspond, they are not objective!" Well, prices can sometimes greatly "facilitate" matters, but they can also slow things down. It is all a question of... but of what, exactly?

I thought I had found one possible answer as to how to make prices more objective in the CPCZ Central Committee theoretical and political journal *Nova Mysl* (No. 2, 1987). This is what Ivan Haluska, doctor of economic sciences, deputy minister-chairman of the CSSR Federal Price Office, and author of an article published in the journal, said to me at a meeting.

[Haluska] The article presents my views as an academician, and as deputy minister responsible for preparing the scientific concepts of price formation and for different approaches to actual CEMA prices. The point is this: The time we live in inevitably demands the greater internationalization of economic relations between the socialist community countries, and particularly of socially necessary labor expenditure. This must be reflected in contractual prices.

[Kornilov] And what are they?

[Haluska] They are prices used (albeit with various deviations at present) in relations between CEMA countries. They are currently based on sliding variables of world market prices averaged over the last 5 years. We "dance to their tune," so to speak. But this kind of basis has considerable shortcomings: the same prices for 5 years? This is out of step with reality, as prices change much more rapidly than this. And it means that we are either lagging behind them or we suddenly shoot ahead. We need greater flexibility. And this we will have. But is this possible?

[Haluska] Why not? But CEMA will need to create an "erudite" bank of information on price movement and use values (and, therefore, the quality of manufactured goods) throughout the world that will constantly keep a finger on its pulse, so to speak. The use of data contained in this bank will create an international concept of objectivity, and we will have accuracy, flexibility, and rapidity...

[Kornilov] Fine. Let us suppose that these "average annual" prices are accepted. Will this in any way affect the formation and level of prices within a given country?

[Haluska] It will make it possible to improve them and bring them closer to a real reflection of vitally necessary labor expenditure within the CEMA system and, therefore, closer to the correlations operating in the context of the world division of labor and on the world market. In short, prices will reflect the real state of affairs. Comparison of labor productivity levels in the country and the world as a whole will become more objective.

[Kornilov] Will this also be useful with respect to developing new forms of our cooperation?

[Haluska] Of course. Direct links and the functioning of joint enterprises will be facilitated if we have objective prices. More objective international exchange rates can also be achieved on this basis, incidentally. The price-formation mechanisms in the CEMA countries which follow this course will draw closer together and become virtually identical. International socialist cooperation and integration will be considerably accelerated.

[Kornilov] Does it not follow from your argument, however, that contractual prices improved in this way will simply passively follow the fluctuations of the world capitalist market?

[Haluska] Be subordinate to it and trail along behind, you mean? Certainly not. Information on world prices must be used purposefully and systematically, reinterpreting them and "cleansing" them of everything negative inherent in the capitalist economy: state-monopoly

induced inflationary deformations or deformations that are simply unacceptable to socialist society. Then we will not just "follow" world prices but will ourselves be able to influence them actively.

[Kornilov] And how do opponents regard your proposal?

[Haluska] In different ways, of course. We do have opponents, but there are also people who simply do not want to change anything. But I am pleased, for example, that many authoritative specialists in the Soviet Union are thinking along the same lines. I am convinced that once we have "come to grips" with contractual prices we will be able to resolve a number of problems now being tackled by theory and practice in the prices sphere. This will include such important domestic economy issues as the application of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. [Haluska ends] ...The price of a commodity in a store is something that is absolutely clear to everyone. But not everyone understands the highly complex mechanism that forms these prices. It would therefore be superfluous to delve any deeper into the details. We will leave this to the specialists. In working on this conversation I merely wanted to show that there are also people in Czechoslovakia giving thought to these topical, serious, far from simple problems. They are discussing these problems and expressing original, well-reasoned views.

PPR Spokesman Assesses Gorbachev Article

LD221854 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Warsaw September 22 TASS—A developed and fundamentally argued concept of a world-wide system of international security based on cooperation and trust, which serves to remove the threat posed by the arms race, is put forward in the article "The realities and Guarantees of a Safe World" by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, Jerzy Urban, press secretary of the government of the Polish People's Republic, told a press conference here responding to a question put by a TASS correspondent.

Ensuring security solely by military means is just impossible now. The Polish leadership gives itself account of this, he stressed. Gorbachev's article contains a programme of action, which serves to ameliorate the situation in the world and the entire complex of international relations.

Poland fully shares the concept of a safe world, free of the threat of nuclear holocaust, presented by the Soviet leader, and supports the USSR'S efforts to create a world-wide system of international security, the press secretary said.

Gusev Receives Polish Minister Grzywa

PM161449 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received E. Grzywa, Polish minister of the chemical and light industry, 9 September.

Questions of cooperation between the USSR and Poland in the sphere of chemical industry sectors were discussed.

PZPR'S Baryla Visits, Received by Yakovlev

PM170843 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Working Visit"]

[Text] J. Baryla, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, made a brief working visit to Moscow 7-9 September at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, where he was acquainted with CPSU experience in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums. J. Baryla had a meeting with A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Kalininskiy CPSU Raykom in Moscow, talked with scientists at the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, and took part in the formal opening of the Warsaw Festival in Moscow.

Warsaw City PZPR Delegation Ends Visit

PM181655 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 87 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Warsaw Festival in Moscow": "Joint Work for People's Sake. Visit by Polish Capital's Delegation Concluded. Its Results Are Summed Up by J. Kubasiewicz, Candidate Member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of Warsaw PZPR Committee"]

[Text] Yesterday morning the Warsaw delegation headed by J. Kubasiewicz, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Warsaw PZPR Committee, visited the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements and toured several pavilions in the country's largest exhibition. The delegation was accompanied by Moscow CPSU Gorkom Secretary Yu. S. Karabasov and Moscow Gorispolkom Deputy Chairman Yu. A. Shilobreyev.

The delegation left for home in the afternoon.

At Sheremetyevo Airport the delegation was seen off by Moscow Gorispolkom Chairman V.T. Saykin; Moscow CPSU Gorkom Secretary I.D. Pisarev; and senior party gorkom and Moscow Gorispolkom officials. E. Smolinski, Polish charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, and embassy staffers were among the send-off party.

The delegation from the Polish capital gave a news conference at the Warsaw Festival Press Center in Moscow yesterday. Addressing the journalists, delegation

head J. Kubasiewicz conveyed thanks to Muscovites for the warm and cordial reception accorded by them to Warsaw's emissaries and expressed gratification with the fruitful and businesslike results of the meetings held in Moscow.

Our capital's festival is continuing, he said, but even right now one can confidently speak of its success, of the fact that the goals we set ourselves in preparation for the encounter with Muscovites have been attained...

We constantly sensed the friendly attention and the tremendous and sincere interest in our capital's life and in the changes taking place in our country and, for our part, learned much that is valuable and useful from the Moscow City party organization's experience in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, the delegation head stressed. We perceive the Warsaw Festival in Moscow as our modest contribution toward preparations for Great October's 70th anniversary, a jubilee which is of tremendous importance also for us Poles.

Replying to a question by *Moskovskaya Pravda*'s correspondent about the results of the Warsaw delegation's visit, J. Kubasiewicz said:

The main point to be noted is that we exchanged very valuable experience in practical work on implementing the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress. Both our countries are now living through a period of important transformations which will affect our future development. Today's cooperation between our parties is primarily an exchange of experience in building a society of social justice. This is why the Warsaw party organization studies with great interest the practical activity of Moscow's Communists and, for our part, we share our own experience.

This is my third visit to Moscow in the last 18 months, since I became head of the Warsaw party organization, J. Kubasiewicz went on to say. We also have frequent meetings in Warsaw. These regular meetings give us an opportunity to keep constantly abreast of each other's practical activity in different spheres of the lives of our capitals.

We were particularly interested in how Moscow Gorkom is solving the city's problems and what its priorities are. We learned much that is interesting from the new forms of party and ideological work. We are convinced that we have much in common here. This applies in particular to the strengthening of primary party links, the affirmation in people's minds of the ideas of restructuring, and the correspondence of words and deeds in our practical actions. The frank [otkrovennyy] and truly comradely meetings in Moscow have produced specific mutual benefit in this context, making it possible to perceive more clearly the ways to solve the problems facing us.

J. Kubasiewicz dwelt in detail on one of these problems—the role of primary party organizations.

We proceed from the premise, he said, that the party's strength lies in its primary links. And in this respect we strive to apply a firm and consistent policy. In particular, we have elaborated a new form of direct contacts with primary organization secretaries. We hold regular meetings with them and consult them, focusing attention on key questions of party policy and the strengthening of its role at local level. These meetings—and they are held once a week—enable both Warsaw Committee secretaries and leaders of district party organizations to become more familiar with the problems perturbing people and to solve them appropriately, with due consideration for specific circumstances.

J. Kubasiewicz noted in conclusion that the successful holding of the Warsaw Festival in Moscow is a practical embodiment of the Declaration on Soviet-polish Cooperation in the Spheres of Ideology, Science, and Culture. We want, he said, the cooperation between our capitals not to be limited to exchanges of official delegations but to take the form of specific joint actions and mutual assistance, so that our friendship could be of real benefit to the residents of Warsaw and Moscow and become a part of their daily life. Such an opportunity will be provided by the treaty on cooperation between our capitals that was signed a few days ago. A Moscow festival will be held in Warsaw next year. I can say in advance that the citizens of Warsaw will meet the emissaries of the Soviet capital with a hospitality equal to that with which Muscovites are today receiving our city's representatives.

West Europe

U.S. Military Presence Threat to Turkey

PM221415 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 87 First Edition p 5

[Article by Captain First Rank V Burlyayev: "Who and What Threatens Turkey"]

[Text] It is well-known that falsification is a tried and tested method used by the U.S. Administration to justify its expansionist plans and aspirations. And so it was this time too. On failing to get Turkey's approval for a so-called "Supplementary Letter" on prolonging the U.S.-Turkish agreement "on cooperation in the sphere of defense and the economy" or its assent to the use of the country's military installations by American troops for actions outside NATO's zone of responsibility Washington did not let matters rest. It is now making strenuous efforts to get the mendacious document *Soviet Military Power* into the Turkish press.

This pamphlet is a hodgepodge of political slander and military-strategic mythmaking. Groundlessly accusing the Soviet Union of violating the relevant agreements in the arms control sphere, of violating the ABM Treaty, and of exerting the "expansionist pressure" that is allegedly characteristic of it, the authors of the pamphlet claim that Turkey has also been chosen as a target of this pressure. They go so far as to allege that the "Soviet Union has concentrated against Turkey in the Caucasus armed forces five times larger in all respects than the Turkish forces and is devising aggressive plans against it."

The purpose of the Pentagon's latest anti-Soviet campaign is to justify the U.S. military presence on Turkish territory and substantiate the need for a further buildup. After all, the United States has for many years made use of insidious slander to disguise its imperial pretensions and maintain its allies in obedience, and it continues to do so.

Surprise and bewilderment are also being caused by another factor, namely, Ankara's stance. The allegations contained in the transatlantic fabrication that it is the USSR that is "guilty" of worsening the international situation and that the "intrigues of Soviet communism" rather than the interventionist actions of U.S. imperialism pose a threat to world peace — all this has long been a stale, noisome propaganda commodity in steadily declining demand even in the West. But now, strange as it may seem, takers have been found in Turkey.

Not without the prompting of certain of the country's leading figures, the mass media have favored the U.S.-made anti-Soviet fabrication with their attention. The magazine *Nokta*, for example, has given over pages to an interview with Army General N. Oztorun, former commander of Turkey's ground forces. Readily lauding the American lies, the general claims that a ring of fire is tightening around Turkey. According to him, a new "alliance of four," comprising the USSR, Bulgaria, Greece, and Syria, is massing troops on the border with Turkey and intends to mount an attack on it at any moment. He assigns the main role in this "alliance" to our country, of course. Commenting on the "Soviet plans for the occupation of Turkey," which are a fabrication from start to finish, Oztorun states that the "seizure of the straits may secure the Eastern bloc an outlet to the Mediterranean for a certain time, but Turkey will not stand idle." But here the general clearly fails to notice that he gives the game away, letting out the hidden purpose of the anti-Soviet slander supported by Ankara. "To that end," he states, "the Turkish General Staff is modernizing its armed forces."

Feigned disquiet at the claimed violation of the balance of conventional arms on NATO's southern flank—where Turkey is situated—in favor of the Warsaw Pact was also shown by Turkish Prime Minister T. Ozal at the North Atlantic Assembly session held in Istanbul in November 1986. He also spoke about the "threat from the north" and the modernization of Turkey's Armed Forces, for which purpose he urged the allies to provide it with effective military, economic, and political aid.

Thus, if you are to believe the U.S. and Turkish Atlanticists, "Soviet aggression" and the "seizure of the straits" are all but decided upon. And therefore it is essential to strengthen the system of military cooperation treaties with the United States, to arm oneself with NATO allies' aid, and to create with their assistance one's own military-industrial complex. How is all this not an attempt to justify the intention of granting the Pentagon new bases on Turkish territory for stationing modern U.S. aircraft, modernizing the depots at which, even in peacetime, around 500 American nuclear munitions are kept, and modernizing electronic surveillance centers for purposes of gathering information on the activity of the Armed Forces of the USSR and other countries, including Near Eastern ones?

It is difficult to believe that official circles in Ankara are unaware of the Soviet Union's traditional policy toward Turkey—a policy of peaceful coexistence based on noninterference in the other's internal affairs, good-neighborliness, and a desire for equitable, mutually beneficial cooperation; or of the Soviet initiatives whose aim is to secure a nuclear-free Europe and then proceed to cuts in conventional arms and armed forces while observing the sides' equal security. The Soviet Union has no territorial claims on Turkey, respects its sovereignty, and strictly fulfills the provisions of the political document on the principles of good-neighborly and friendly cooperation between our countries, the nonuse of force, and the refusal to allow either's territory to be used for aggression and subversive actions against other states.

Ankara must know that extremely reactionary militarist circles in the United States have a greater interest than anyone else in worsening Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union. They regard the improvement of all-around ties between our countries as yet another obstacle to the implementation of their hegemonist goals in the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean. As far as the presence of 60 U.S. miltary bases and installations on Turkish territory is concerned, it is the Pentagon that is the real master there. Essentially it can involve them without impediment in its military adventures, including those in the eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. And it is here, in the opinion of the Turkish public itself, that the real threat to the country's security and national interests lies.

One would like to believe that the Turkish leadership's assurances that it seeks to maintain good relations with the Soviet Union and will adopt measures to protect them from fluctuations in the international situation will not remain empty words, and that Ankara will finally appreciate the dangerous consequences for Turkey itself inherent in Washington's schemes.

UK Protests Iranian Attack on Ship

LD221444 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] London September 22 TASS—The Iranian charge d'affaires of Iran to the United Kingdom was summoned to the Foreign Office today.

The British Broadcasting Corporation reported that a protest was officially stated to him in connection with the attack on the British-flagged ship "Gentle Breeze" by Iranian gunboats.

DER SPIEGEL Interviews Thatcher on Arms

LD221031 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Bonn September 21 TASS—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher granted an interview to the West

German *Der Spiegel* magazine, in which she touched upon a number of international issues. In her view the world has become today more stable than it used to be ten or fifteen years ago. Thus, in particular, cooperation by far better functions within the U.N. framework.

Touching upon the USSR's policy, the prime minister stressed that not only the Soviet Union benefits from the reforms being carried out in the USSR. The fact that the Soviet leader speaks so openly about what should be done is a good sign to all of us, she added.

Touching upon the disarmament problems, Margaret Thatcher laid emphasis not on the prospects for freeing the world from nuclear weapons but rather on the "need" to preserve mass destruction weapons. She expressed opposition to the total scrapping of nuclear weapons in Europe, by pointing out that NATO's nuclear deterrent strategy is extremely important to the West. Therefore we must preserve in Europe a certain amount of U.S. nuclear weapons, she claimed. Simultaneously, the prime minister said that Britain would never give up her nuclear potential.

Margaret Thatcher again attempted to substantiate her irrelevant claims about a "threat from the East" by the USSR's mythical superiority in the field of conventional weapons. The prime minister was discussing, in particular, a "considerable arsenal of Soviet chemical weapons" as if the proposals directed at the elimination of those weapons stemmed not from the USSR.

Margaret Thatcher was forced to admit that "some kind of a breakthrough" could be achieved at the Geneva disarmament talks, implying the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles. At the same time, contrary to all logic, she claimed that a decision on the West German Pershing-1A missiles with the U.S. nuclear warheads is necessarily a prerogative of the USA and the FRG.

The prime minister was trying to justify Washington's military presence in the Persian Gulf and the dispatch of British naval ships to that region.

Supreme Soviet Greets Belgian King

LD211125 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT 21 Sep 87

[text] Moscow September 21 TASS—In connection with Belgium's national holiday the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has sent a congratulatory telegram to King Baudouin.

It expressed the hope that the traditional relations of good cooperation between the USSR and Belgium, including political dialogue on the pressing problems of the times, would continue developing to the benefit of peace, facilitating stronger international security, detente and trust among nations.

The Belgian head of state in his reply telegram stressed the desire to assist the harmonious development of cooperation between the two countries in various fields.

PRAVDA Chief Editor's News Conference

PM171416 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Sep 87 p 6

["A.J." report: "PRAVDA Chief Editor a Witness to His Time"]

[Text] Mr Afanasyev is one of the Soviet officials for whom the present period is not free from problems. He has been chief editor of *Pravda* since 1976 and naturally upholds the slogans of restructuring and glasnost, so dear to Mr Gorbachev. But he makes no secret of the fact that he and his colleagues have a great deal to learn and that the burden of "habits and traditions" will continue to "cause problems."

Take the draft law on the press which is apparently in its "final stage." It provides "many rights and possibilities" for journalists, but also "greater responsibilities" which not everybody is prepared to accept. This is a "harmful remnant" from the days when *Pravda*, for instance, was untouchable.

Mr Afanasyev, who had come to Paris for the *L'Humanite* festival, gave a press conference on Tuesday 15 September in which most of his replies were characterized by these ambivalent feelings.

Will Bukharin and Trotskiy be rehabilitated? "This is not a matter for journalists, and those who write on this subject do not base their statements on serious analyses. This is a matter for scholars and the party." "The revocation of previous decisions is not impossible," for instance in Bukharin's case. But Mr Afanasyev does not think that Trotskiy will be rehabilitated. "Of course, he did some things for the revolution, but he had a fairly odious personality and his negative qualities outweigh his positive qualities." This does not prevent his name from reappearing in history books.

Does Mr Ligachev—the regime's number two—not sometimes disagree with Mr Gorbachev? This is a "Western invention" which borders on "malevolence." In this connection, *Pravda's* chief editor made a revelation: Since Mr Gorbachev came to power, he has attended the Politburo meeting every Thursday afternoon. He therefore has firsthand information. "I have never," he said, "heard Comrade Ligachev contradict Mikhail Gorbachev's ideas." Of course, "different viewpoints" are expressed, but in a "common language."

The Politburo meetings, to which "experts" are also invited, sometimes go on until late at night. If agreement is not reached on a subject, the decision is postponed.... But "there is no fundamental disagreement within our leadership."

A Visit by John-Paul II? [subhead]

Mr Afanasyev also discussed the reform of the penal code, which will be aimed at "humanization"—he personally is opposed to capital punishment—and "liberalization." Will people still be tried for "anti-Soviet activities"? "Each case" will have to be judged individually,

and this will also apply to the amnesty which will accompany the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and which will be "spread over a period of time." In the past, people who ought not to have been released sometimes benefited from amnesties. The same applies to the "unofficial" associations which are springing up everywhere. Fortunately, most support "restructuring." But the activities of "those who want to disorganize public opinion" will not be tolerated.

Pravda recently discussed the "problems" of the international communist movement; will the anniversary of the October Revolution provide an opportunity for a meeting or conference like the one which was held in Moscow in June 1969 for instance? "There is no question of a meeting in the traditional sense," but of "meetings" and "round-table discussions" attended by all those who wish to participate. "No resolution or decisions will be adopted." But exchanges of views are "very useful," and will henceforth be "more frequent."

Another anniversary which comes round next year is the 1,000th anniversary of Russia's conversion to Christianity. The *Pravda* chief editor pointed out—rightly?—that this is more a matter for the religious authorities than for the party or state authorities. He said it was unfortunate that the West is using this anniversary "for anticommunist and anti-Soviet ends." But he did "not rule out" the possibility that John-Paul II may be able to visit the USSR, although he could not say when.

French Media Institutions Sign Protocol

PM181358 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A working protocol on cooperation between the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the French National Institute of Audiovisual Systems (INA) was signed in Moscow 16 September.

The document was signed by V.I. Polov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and INA President J. Langlois-Glandier.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua Suspends Combat Operations

LD222111 Moscow TASS in English 2055 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Managua September 23 TASS—TASS correspondent Sergey Gorbunov reports:

The Government of Nicaragua has decided to suspend combat operations of the Sandinist People's Army against contras groups in a number of areas of the country. This is said in a decree of the president of the Republic which was made public at a press conference which was held here on Tuesday.

The Nicaraguan troops will be concentrated in certain zones to enable national reconciliation commissions and peace commissions, formed locally, to let the population and counterrevolutionary formations know the content and the course of implementation of the Guatemala agreement on a peace settlement in the region, the decree underlines.

The new measures announced by the Nicaraguan Government are aimed at attaining a ceasefire in line with the accords signed by the presidents of the Central American states, journalists were told by President of the Republic Daniel Ortega. He said that the Radio Catolica radio station has been allowed to resume its activities.

Press Restrictions Lifted

LD230839 Moscow TASS in English 0549 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Managua September 23 TASS—Tomas Borge, Nicaraguan minister of the interior, has announced the lifting of restrictions on the activities of mass media. The restrictions were imposed earlier in line with the state of emergency in the country.

Borge emphasized that this step became possible due to the successes of the Sandinist People's Army in the fight against the hired bands of the contras, and was yet another measure of the government in implementation of the Guatemala agreement.

The Nicaraguan minister of the interior called on the leaders of the country's mass media to show responsibility and patriotism in journalistic work.

Reconciliation Commission

LD230842 Moscow TASS in English 0548 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Managua September 23 TASS—The Government of Nicaragua regards its commitments in all seriousness and continues to take steps promoting a peaceful settlement in Central America, stated the Republic's Vice-President Sergio Ramirez.

In an interview with journalists at the close of a regular meeting of the Commission for National Reconciliation, Ramirez pointed out that the other Central American countries should also undeviatingly comply with the Guatemala agreement with a view to securing the establishment of really lasting and durable peace in the region.

Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, chairman of the Commission for National Reconciliation, gave a positive evaluation of the peace moves of the Nicaraguan Government and, in particular, its decision to resume the publication of the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* and Radio Catolica station.

He said peace commissions which are being set up in various parts of Nicargua will from now on be subordinated to the Commission for National Reconciliation.

Ramirez on Contra Dialogue

LD221503 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Managua September 22 TASS—The peace prospects that have opened up in Central America became possible due to the heroism of the people of Nicaragua who foiled the Reagan administration's aggressive plans, stated Nicaraguan Vice-President Sergio Ramirez.

Speaking at a mass meeting in the city of Leon, he emphasized that the United States' attempts at stifling the Nicaraguan revolution through the Somozists had suffered an utter fiasco.

Nicaragua strives for a just and worthy peace in Central America, the vice-president pointed out. The Republic's government signed the Guatemala agreements because they do not contradict the legitimate interests of the Nicaraguan people, and intends unswervingly to perform the obligations without detriment to the revolutionary gains.

Sergio Ramirez firmly rejected attempts by internal and external reactionaries to make Nicaragua unilaterally comply with the above-mentioned accords.

The Nicaraguan Government, he said, enjoys full support of the people and, due to this fact, can pursue a flexible policy, taking measures, provided for by the Guatemala agreement, ahead of time.

However, the other signatory states are also obliged to comply with it. At a time when the Republic's government will announce a ceasefire, an end should be put to any foreign aid to the contras and to the use of the territories of neighbouring countries by them for aggression against Nicaragua. The counterrevolutionaries should disarm and avail themselves of the amnesty.

The Nicaraguan vice-president reaffirmed the categorical refusal of the Nicaraguan leadership to have a dialogue with the leaders of the CIA's hirelings, and emphasized that the Somozista killers serving punishment for crimes perpetrated over the years of the dictatorship would remain in jail.

Sergio Ramirez pointed out that full democratisation of Nicaraguan society accorded with the political program of the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

"We are winning the military battle against imperialism, and will not get scared by a politico-ideological battle against the adversaries of the revolutionary process," the Nicaraguan leader emphasized.

Political & Social

Gromyko Presents State Awards in Kremlin

LD222047 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Sep 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Kremlin today Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko presented high state awards to a group of comrades. The Order of Lenin and 2nd Hammer and Sickle gold medal were presented to Viktor Ivanovich Shtepo, general director of Volgodon Sovkhoz Specialized Production Association in Volgograd Oblast.

The titles of Hero of Socialist Labor, Order of Lenin and Hammer and Sickle gold medals were conferred on Sergey Ivanovich Antipov, rolling mill operative of Dnepropetrovsk Petrovskiy Metallurgical Works, and Vasiliy Ivanovich Derevyanko, director of the enterprise.

Orders of Lenin and Hammer and Sickle gold medals of Heroes of Socialist Labor were also presented to Vladimir Pavlovich Gayduk, director of Komsomolets Sovkhoz in Sakhalin Oblast; Lyudmila Georgiyevna Zykina, artistic director and soloist of Rossiya State Republican Russian Folk Ensemble; Mariya Nikolayevna Mordasova, USSR People's Artist; Sergey Petrovich Serebryakov, instrument fitter at the Kirov Works; and Svyatoslav Nikolayevich Fedorov, general director of the Interdepartmental Scientific-Technical Complex of Optical Microsurgery.

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko warmly and cordially congratulated those receiving the awards and wished them fresh success in work and great personal happiness.

Kiev Daily on Afghanistan War Dead

AU230840 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Sep 87 p 2

[V. Nikolayev article: "People With a Particular Destiny"—boldface passage as published]

[Excerpts] **At the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements the exhibit of the Ukrainian SSR section, dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October, was nearing completion. The show was still closed, but there were quite a few people— servicing personnel and work superintendents, including those from other fraternal republics. They looked at exhibits and stopped at photographs of people who are well known all over the country.**

"Do you know who the man is in the photograph you have just seen in passing by?" one of the organizers of the section asked a group of visitors, and himself answered: "He is the Maresyev [renowned Soviet World War II pilot] of our times."

At the beginning, those present listened with some distrust to the story of Sergey Chervonopiskiy, Cherkassy city Komsomol committee first secretary and bearer of two Red Star Orders, but then their interest increased ever more.

The destiny of the former landing-force soldier is now well known all over the country. In an essay published on 27 July 1987 under the headline "The Older Son," the newspaper *Pravda* wrote how Sergey Chervonopiskiy, after a grave injury in Afghanistan and after having both legs amputated, managed to join the ranks again. He overcame misfortune with strength of courage.

At present there are many young people with heroic destinies. As noted at the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress, in the past 5 years 75 soldiers have been awarded the titles of Hero of the Soviet Union for courage and heroism in discharging their international duty, and tens of thousands have been decorated with orders and medals. Among the heroes there were eight natives of the Ukraine.

Youths gravitate toward such people, and this is quite natural. [passage omitted]

The moral potential accumulated by the internationalists is an authentic and unique wealth which is so necessary in accomplishing the complex tasks facing our country. The overwhelming majority of the internationalist soldiers now advance in the vanguard of the fighters to restructure, displaying their fighting spirit under peaceful conditions. [passage omitted]

For this reason manifestations of indifference, formalism, and bureaucratism on the part of individual officials dealing with the needs of these people with a particular destiny are heartbreaking. These manifestations were reported in the article entitled "I Did not Send You to Afghanistan..." published in the newspaper *Pravda* on 5 August 1987.

The adherents of red tape and bureaucratism that internationalist soldiers and their families have come across have been severely punished. Measures have been provided to rule out even the least manifestations of carelessness and disrespect for those who have discharged their international duty in a worthy manner.

Unfortunately, manifestations of callousness and indifference still occur. [passage omitted]

One of the central ideas discussed in the *Pravda* article mentioned was expressed by a father who had suffered an irreplaceable loss: "Why is one not allowed to write that he (the son) died in discharging his internationalist duty in Afghanistan? What are we ashamed of?"

For the sake of the truth in life, and in the interests of the working people and of youth education, it is essential to speak about our motherland's valiant sons that have fallen in combat as openly as they do, for example, in Chernigov, Khmelnitskiy, and Ivano-Frankovsk. Otherwise the feat performed by Soviet soldiers who, at the risk of their lives, have opposed the armed aggression by hostile forces, lacks a political appraisal. The severe tests that have befallen the young people of the eighties are being hushed up, and this fact not only bewilders people,

but also impedes the consolidation of feelings of gratitude and deep respect for the combat exploit of our compatriots. [passage omitted]

Problem of Illegal Liquor Examined

OW230049 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0340 GMT on 21 September carries the regularly scheduled 10-minute "Restructuring Spotlight" program. Today's program, presented by Vitaliy Pidchenko, deals with the problem of illegally distilled liquor.

The program begins with Pidchenko inviting viewers to see an exhibition showing the technical creativity of those who make illegal spirits. Video cuts to shots of an exhibition in Kharkov Oblast, Ukrainian SSR, displaying confiscated equipment used for illegally distilling spirits. Among the displayed items is an improvised vacuum cleaner which pidchenko says is very efficient and is capable of distilling the highest quality samagon [moonshine]. He says "regular customers pay between R10 and R15 per liter" and says that one person engaged in the illegal business even installed a computerized program to fully automate the distilling process.

Pidchenko then says that the sophistication of some equipment suggests that highly qualified people are involved. Some people arrested for distilling spirits are interviewed who admit that they are qualified engineers.

Pidchenko then goes on to say: "Recently, in Kharkov Oblast, the militia discovered an entire organization. In its hideout, some 2,500 bottles of illegal spirits were discovered." He also notes that in one case the criminals took over an abandoned house in which they established an entire factory with its own drivers, technicians and bookkeepers. Video then cuts to Pidchenko interviewing A.M. Bandurka, head of the Kharkov Oblast Department of Internal Affairs, who speaks of the growing problem of illegal production of homemade spirits. Bandurka says that the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that the authorities must use modern methods, such as specially trained dogs, to check the problem. Bandurka urges those engaged in the illegal activities to surrender and assures that they will not be prosecuted. He says that Since 1985, almost half a million stills have been handed over to the militia in the Ukraine alone. He adds that in a 3-month period, there were only 500 prosecutions. He notes that those engaged in manufacturing spirits for personal use can expect a fine of up to R500, and those who do so for personal gain face 2 years in jail as well as a fine of up to R500. Bandurka says that these laws are old and that greater deterrents are needed. Video then cuts to Pidchenko interviewing workers. Most of the men interviewed express some sympathy for those engaged in the illegal activities since the cost of vodka is prohibitively high. The women, on the other hand, feel that greater efforts by the militia are needed to end such activities.

Video then cuts to shots of Kharkov Hospital No 15 which has established a ward for alcoholics. Video shows patients who have trouble remembering their names and who do not know where they are. Video further cuts to show an institution for retarded children. The program ends with Pidchenko suggesting that most of the cases in the institution can be traced to alcoholic parents.

Kiev Paper Analyzes Causes of Drunkenness

AU231047 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Sep 87 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences R. Anufriyeva: "Why Do People Drink? Are There Reasons for Heavy Drinking in Our Country?"]

[Excerpts] Until recently the opinion that under socialism there are no social motives for drunkenness was predominant among scientists, and it has still not been overcome in the consciousness of some people. Those people regard drunkenness as a complete vestige of the past.

Certainly, in a socialist society, unlike in a capitalist one, there is no unemployment, no violence, no exploitation of man by man, no racial discrimination or national oppression, no war hysteria, and culture and education are accessible to the masses. Socialism has ruled out all the factors which arouse man's distrust of the future, depreciate life, deprive man of the joy of life, and make him compensate for it with the artificial effects of drug stimulants.

However, drunkenness has not disappeared in our country. Moreover, at some stage it has acquired dangerous proportions. Those drinking are not nobodies, but people who have been living under the conditions of a socialist society for many decades.

An unbiased look at the problem makes it clear that both drunkenness and the consumption of alcohol in general are brought about by many factors. Their causes are multiple. The attempt to eradicate drunkenness without settling other social problems is doomed. The fact that we have eliminated a number of fundamental social factors that cause and feed drunkenness in capitalist society gives confidence in the success of the struggle against it. However, in proceeding not from wishful thinking, but from reality, it would be wrong to overlook the fact that we still have not succeeded in consistently implementing all principles and ideals of socialism, and that in social life there are quite a few things that impede the all-round development of personality, that make it difficult to foster a new psychology and to enhance the socialist way of life. At present our people are settling these problems by the efforts to achieve a qualitatively new condition of socialist society, by restructuring and accelerating.

Hence, it is clear how important it is to promote by all means the sphere of services, culture, and sports, to organize services and leisure for people, to strictly observe the principle of social justice, and to provide conditions for the development of self-management, glasnost and democracy, and for the full realization of people's abilities and talents in order to eradicate drunkenness.

It is essential to resolutely smash the reproduction "mechanism" of drunkenness. Although this mechanism has not been "built in" in socialist social relations, it has been rooted precisely in the soil of socialist society, and is frequently manifested in relations among various persons or narrow groups, in relations which traditionally imply the consumption of alcohol. [passage omitted]

For the time being, similar relations among persons also exist in the sphere of communal production. The institution of the so-called pushers [tolkachi] is, after all, well known even at present. It is also known that this institution does not dispense with "stimulating" drinking bouts. As restructuring makes progress, the field of activity for the organizers of such a "tipsy business" tends to shrink. In this way, the perfection and restructuring of our economic mechanism will accomplish not only economic tasks, but also will put business relations among people in the production process on a sound basis.

The abuse of alcohol is also provoked by various failures in people's private lives. These dramas and shocks induce people to seek relaxation and consolation in drinking. [passage omitted]

What frequently spreads drinking habits are also the existing ceremonies and customs. For this reason it is essential to work hard to purge them from alcoholic admixtures and to widely establish new vivid and colorful ceremonies.

Acting as a creator of new forms of life and of new ways to accomplish socioeconomic tasks, our party binds efforts to overcome alcoholism with the elimination of those social factors which help this evil to survive and to reproduce. The party's objective is to invigorate all forces of our society in its struggle consolidate the material and intellectual foundations of the socialist way of life.

New Smolensk Obkom Leader Interviewed

PM211335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 87 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with A.A. Vlasenko, first secretary of Smolensk Obkom, by special correspondents V. Kozhemyako and N. Popinako: "A Continuation and a Start. Interview With an Obkom First Secretary Recently Elected to the Post"]

[Text] We decided to break with tradition. Journalists usually do not ask a party committee leader for an interview until he has done a lot of work in this post and a acquired some solid experience. "I have nothing to boast about yet," Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Vlasenko noted, resolutely rejecting at first our proposals to interview him for the newspaper.

True, he was elected to the post of first secretary of the Smolensk Obkom quite recently, in May. Less than 6 months have elapsed. Nonetheless, it seemed interesting to us to put a few questions to a new party leader who is just starting out. First of all, we asked him, of course, about his first steps and first impressions in the role of first secretary and about the ideas and plans which he is forming today. After all, quite a few new first secretaries are currently getting down to work and their concerns most probably coincide to some extent.

Pravda: So, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, a plenum was held and you were congratulated on your election to this high post. What did you feel at that moment?

Vlasenko: Responsibility. The burden of great responsibility. You have described me as a party leader who is just starting out. Strictly speaking, this is not quite accurate. I have worked as a raykom first secretary in the Kuban for 7 years, later I headed first the Krasnodar Kraykom Agriculture Department and then the Organizational Party Work Department, and subsequently I worked as kraykom secretary for agriculture and later for ideology. In recent years I have held the post of chief of a CPSU Central Committee sector. I am saying this to show that in a certain sense my new post is for me a continuation of my previous party work. However, as for the scale of my responsibility... This, indeed, is new to me. I became aware of what it means literally the day after my election. In the morning there was a telephone call from Moscow. Straight away several questions were put to me as obkom first secretary. Some I was able to answer, but, alas, not all. I had to make apologies. I thought to myself: Waste no time in getting to know your new sphere and tackling the job, you obviously have no time for shillyshallying.

Pravda: Where did you start?

Vlasenko: A great deal happened simultaneously. I familiarized myself with the obkom apparatus, studied statistics, toured plants and villages. Nothing special, on the whole; everyone in my situation does much the same, I believe.

Pravda: What proved to be most useful?

Vlasenko: Encounters with people at local level, of course. On the whole, I am very impressed with people here. They are warmhearted, open, hardworking, and long-suffering. Incidentally, I am not sure whether I should rate the latter as a quality. Patience is sometimes necessary. But some of the things that were tolerated here should never have been tolerated. For instance, 78 percent of kolkhozes and sovkhozes make a loss or only a low profit. One-third of livestock premises are in a semidilapidated state. Fewer than half the livestock units are mechanized, hence also the low productivity. For instance, we obtain on average 2,217 kg of milk per cow while Moscow Oblast gets 3,500 kg.

Pravda: Well, Moscow Oblast is the capital's oblast...

Vlasenko: No, I have compared us with all our neighbors. We are definitely lagging. Both in livestock raising and in crop yields. True, there are some extenuating

circumstances. Our soil has the poorest score in points, the sum of temperatures above zero is the lowest, and there is much more precipitation. This year, for instance, there have been few days on which it has not rained.

But do not think that I am saying all this to evoke your pity, or sympathy at any rate. I will put it in the words of that wonderful native of the Smolensk region, Tvardovskiy: And for all that, and for all that, and for all that... Despite all the adverse conditions we can and must—and I am firmly convinced of this—get much more out of our land.

Pravda: What will have to be done?

Vlasenko: Above all, I think, we must change people's mentality. We must overcome this very patience in the negative sense of the word. The habit of thinking along the lines: "How can we compete with the others..." Unfortunately, many people here feel like this, and the feeling is very ingrained.

Pravda: Your predecessor held the post for almost 20 years...

Vlasenko: You think I'm going to blame him for everything? I'm not going to. You know yourselves what the times were like. It is no accident that they have been characterized as a period of stagnation. This is a very accurate description. As for my predecessor, he did much that was good for the oblast, especially for its industrial development. Less attention was paid to the countryside. I can see that both because of my agrarian experience, and as an agronomist by education. I intend to focus special attention on agriculture. There are many reserves here.

Pravda: You have a bunch of wheat ears on your desk. They are very heavy. Where are they from? The Kuban?

Vlasenko: You have guessed wrong. From the "Smolenskiy" stud farm. There the best teams threshed almost 40 quintals per hectare. There is your answer to the question about reserves. At the "Katynskiy" Sovkhoz and the Talashkinskaya Poultry Farm an average of between 30 to 45 quintals per hectare was obtained. That is against the oblast average of 17 quintals per hectare, and only 8-9 quintals per hectare on some farms, you know.

Pravda: What is the reason for such contrasts? How do you explain the success of the leaders?

Vlasenko: I ascribe it to the fact that these collectives are headed by true managers. Let me tell you their names: Nikolay Fedorovich Yerokhin, Ronald Nikolayevich Voloshchuk, Nikolay Matveyevich Shkurlov.

Pravda: You remember their full names?

Vlasenko: Well, what do you think! My memory is not failing yet. In any case, it would be a crime not to know these people. After all, as I see it, we will rely primarily on them and their experience in our efforts to bring the rest in line.

Recently I visited the "Sovetskaya Rossiya" Kolkhoz in Rudnyanskiy Rayon. I had a good talk with Chairman Anna Fedosovna Bystrikova and Party Committee Secretary Valeriy Nikolayevich Lastochkin. Accurately and clearly, they told me all their secrets of success: the collective contract—in action rather than on paper; the family contract; full economic accountability [khozraschet]; the checkbook system of control. The results are plain. People have learned to count—this, I think, is the most important achievement.

The problem is that by no means all have learned it. I toured Krasninskiy Rayon and, on my honor, I was amazed how poor local leaders' economic knowledge is. They have the vaguest idea about economic accountability and self-financing. The chairman of the rayon agro-industrial association could not even tell me how many farms in the rayon make a loss.

My conclusion is that we have to teach cadres economics in earnest. We are now pondering how best to organize courses for them.

Pravda: Does this mean that you are starting with the cadres?

Vlasenko: Without thorough work with cadres we will not get very far. Take a look at what is happening in the countryside. Over the past 6 and 1/2 years 357 of 461 farm leaders, or 77 percent, have been replaced. On 61 farms the leaders have changed 3 times, and on some 4 or 5 times, over this period. But where will this kind of cadre shuffling get us? You must bear in mind that some quite outrageous things happen. A certain Ilin headed the "Mytishchinskiy" Sovkhoz for 13 years until he brought it to complete rack and ruin. Where, you may ask, was the Ugranskiy Raykom looking when all this was happening before its very eyes?

Pravda: Are you saying that both the frequent replacement and instability of leaders and an overly solicitous attitude to worthless workers are harmful?

Vlasenko: Without any question. Our task is to select for every leading post knowledgeable, skilled, and honest people capable of organizing work in an up-to-date fashion. I believe that competitions and democratic elections will help us in this work. Of course, exactingness toward personnel must be enhanced.

Pravda: Many of the people whom we met in the oblast spoke to us about exactingness. They mentioned in particular the latest sessions of the Obkom Bureau, which were reported in the oblast newspaper.

Vlasenko: What did they say—did they voice approval or condemnation?

Pravda: It was something on the lines of: In the past, you would have been merely ticked off for this kind of thing, but now a principled attitude is being adopted.

Vlasenko: There is no other way today. Here is what happened in Dukhovshchinskiy Rayon, for instance. The head physician died, and right there, in the hospital,

a sumptuous drunken wake was organized, attended by 130 people led by Raykom First Secretary Ladchenko. Even before this, there were a lot of complaints about this secretary. You could say he had allowed the rayon to go to pieces. He was given a severe reprimand and his party card was endorsed and the raykom plenum released him from his post as first secretary.

Or take another example. Korovchenko, the new raykom first secretary arrives in Yartsevo. What does he do first? Rather than attending to the crucial problems of the rayon, he sets about smartening up his apartment at the state's expense. He too had to be severely punished.

In general, I am very suspicious of leaders who are more concerned with their personal interests than their jobs. For instance, a senior obkom official comes to me and asks me to allocate an apartment to his son in the new obkom block. I ask: What is your son's connection with the obkom? None. Why the request then?

Some officials who are directly responsible for agriculture see nothing special in asking for leave at the height of the harvest. We rarely speak of selflessness these days. This is probably right. Selflessness is called for in special, extreme circumstances. What we are talking about here is elementary responsibility for your assigned task.

I believe that in some places the role of primary party organizations in monitoring the activities of the administration has been eroded. Recently the party secretary from the "Krasnyy Dobrovolets" Kolkhoz called on me. More and more often, he tells me, the chairman's words do not accord with his deeds. Yet the chairman has quite a reputation, he is a Hero of Socialist Labor. But he does not want to listen to the primary party organization. Is this food for thought?

We intend to get all kolkhoz and sovkhoz primary party organization secretaries together in the near future for a frank discussion rather than a formal conference, to give them an opportunity to air their problems. I don't know whether it will actually happen like that, but this is my intention.

Pravda: What is the oblast newspaper doing to help the obkom? Is it true that a new rubric—"Chronicle of Alarming News"—has been introduced at your suggestion?

Vlasenko: Quite true. I would like the newspaper to be less complacent and more militant. People must be able to learn good things and bad from their newspaper. They must be given the full picture of life in the oblast.

However, I regard the propaganda of leading experience as a particularly important concern of the newspaper: the propaganda and establishment everywhere of this experience. I have already mentioned our best farms. Their work was reported in the newspaper, of course. But have many people taken up this experience? Not yet, and I believe that the paper is not doing enough in this respect.

Then there is the experience of the neighboring Belorussian rayons. When I am in the area, I always try to pay them a visit. Their conditions are much the same as ours, but the standard of farming is much higher, and they are far ahead of us in other respects too.

Take feed procurement. Our oblast has even been praised in this respect this year. Some 78,000 tonnes of hay more than last year have been produced. So what is the problem? The hay is in ricks, it will go black from the rain, it will freeze. This will destroy its nutritive value. It will be like feeding sawdust to the animals.

In Belorussia I have not seen a single rick in the open. All the hay is under cover in special premises, in storehouses. We too must switch to this as soon as possible.

Pravda: We have been talking mainly about production matters. What about the oblast's social sphere?

Vlasenko: The two cannot be separated. They are closely linked. Wherever there is concern for people, there work too is going better. And, conversely, neglecting people's needs inevitably entails poor production results.

Recently we worked out that we are short of 1,263 milkmaids, that there are only 67 machine operators per 100 tractors, and that more than half of middle-level leaders, that is, practical workers, do not have a specialized education. What is at the root of this? The reasons are different, of course, but probably the main one is that many families are on the waiting list for housing, and when it is not forthcoming, they leave for the city.

Furthermore, more than 1,000 houses in the countryside have been abandoned because they are unfit for habitation. They include, for instance prefabricated 2-family dwellings of the so-called 20th series, which were built in the seventies. In winter they freeze right through.

No, we cannot go on like this. A radical reorientation of housing construction combines is necessary. What is needed is designs of warm and comfortable housing which would attract people rather than put them off.

To this end we recently held a meeting of architects and design institute personnel. The key question was: What should we build in the countryside and how? The discussion turned out to be useful. We are confident that soon we will have our own Smolensk variant of a rural house; a good-quality and comfortable house.

Pravda: People told us with satisfaction that the new obkom secretary shows much attention to their living and everyday conditions. They see him in the streets, in the backyards, in stores, and canteens.

Vlasenko: What is special about that? I take the view that we should not just put on lipstick, we should wash our necks as well. Therefore it does no harm to take a look at the backyards rather than just inspect the pretty facades of the city. In the stores, too, I do not just look at the

displays, I take a look at the back rooms as well. Incidentally, concern for people's daily concerns has become the rule for most obkom officials. We seek to take measures to eliminate the exposed shortcomings without delay.

We get many letters from people in cities and the countryside. In addition to personal petitions, there is businesslike advice about how to implement restructuring better and more swiftly. People take pride in their region, they recall that Smolensk Oblast acted more than once as a shield in the path of invaders. Their desire to ensure that labor and life on this age-old Russian land are truly worthy of its combat glory is perfectly natural.

Pravda: It remains for us to wish you success in all your worthy ventures.

Vlasenko: Thank you.

Afanasyev Writes on Soviet Change, Past

PM221635 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 37, 13 Sep 87 (Signed to Press 8 Sep 87) p 10

[Article by Professor Yuriy Afanasyev, Doctor of Sciences (History): "It Is Absurd To Be Afraid of Ourselves"]

[Text] It seems to me that we haven't fully realized yet why, when speaking about perestroyka, we call it a revolution; we compare it to the October Revolution, why we ascribe world historic significance to it and, lastly, why it arouses the dramatic feeling of "now or never", so sharp in many people.

The Soviet people undertook an incredibly complex task—to build socialism in a country which had not yet got rid of the shackles of parochialism and feudalism, which had a backward economy and no firm democratic traditions, a country which was surrounded and which was forced to step up the rate of development at each stage, when waiting for attack and when resisting aggression.

The objective and extremely unfavourable external and internal factors do not justify much of what we had to live through, but they do explain the situations leading to the mishaps and problems which we encountered, and some of which are still pursuing us. But these were not inevitable. To believe that everything then "corresponded" to the circumstances and "stopped corresponding" only years after would be to underestimate the alternativity, innate in each and every historical process, in each social system, and, in some sense, would mean describing our very errors and failures as a "lawful" phase of socialism. Dogmatism, and all the other extreme deformations of socialist development, were not, of course, programmed by the teaching of Marx and Lenin. They were retreats from it. And, if we're speaking, say, about illegality and crime, then it was a crime against socialism.

We are at a turning point today. It is clear to the whole world—which explains the sharp interest in the USSR—that we want to change. It is mortally dangerous to stand still in the tempestuously changing world. And we wish to open our eyes not only to this changing world, but also to ourselves. Our openness to the world depends on our ability to get to know ourselves.

It is in these conditions, at the moment of our gravitation towards renewal and self-purging, that we feel some confusion: something stops us feeling completely free. And each one of us, especially those who are older, realizes or at least guesses that this "something" is more often our difficult and complex past, which is still waiting for an unprejudiced analysis. The past which is usually called (without covering its essence) Stalin's time. Generally speaking, it is clear that the methods of carrying out the collectivization campaign contradicted Lenin's cooperation plan, that the strengthening and reproduction of bureaucracy, and the exclusively administrative methods of controlling society were phenomena alien to socialism. The same goes for the massive repressions, the apathy and fear which they generated were an outrage against the ideals of socialism. The concept that all this didn't touch socialism's main foundations is erroneous. They did—in a big way. Without recognizing and accepting this we'll not penetrate the essence of the phenomenon of vulgarization of Marxism in the country, which set itself the task of fulfilling this humanist teaching, and won't figure out where the low labor productivity, the eternal lines, the lack of products and the "shadow economy" are rooted. There is hardly any need for calming ourselves about anything—we've already passed through disbelief, stagnation, corruption, lies and hopes of postponing de-Stalinization, the restoration of the truth in the name of justice—both social and human and any other justice at that.

The world can now see—we, being loyal to genuine socialism, do not intend to content ourselves with declarative socialism, which has been called "real socialism" as if in jest. The ambiguous formula confronted theory with practice, though it was probably intended to testify to the new system's triumph. It invited us to "reconcile ourselves with reality" in a quasi-Hegelian way, and to accept what there is—all of it—as socialism come true. And if something does not correspond to the ideals and the teaching of Marx and Lenin, well (as a rule, this was never finalized)—life corrects our dreams.

The meaning of the party's latest decisions is reduced exactly to the fact that not each of our realities is socialist, but socialism's capabilities are real. They have not in any way been used up during the preceding development, but, to put it more aptly, were put to use only in a small measure. The economic level and the social know-how, which the party has obtained through so much suffering, makes it possible for Mikhail Gorbachev to say there'd be more socialism and that socialism itself would be more human in every respect.

We wish to make perestroyka irreversible, which means to root out resolutely all the relics of the past, which we have condemned ourselves, the past which took shape many years ago and which reminds us of itself to this day, in the economic, social and spiritual patterns.

I think that this, essentially, is perestroyka's revolutionary manner. We wish to build up real socialism with the highest labor productivity, consistent democracy, glasnost and in keeping with its principle that the free development of each person is the condition for the free development of all.

However, what is needed for this in the analysis and assessment of the past?

This is a most difficult question, from the cognizing, political and moral points of view. I suppose hardly anyone is capable of giving an exhaustive answer to it. One thing, however, is obvious—what is needed apart from civic courage and truth are collective efforts, persistent research and creativity. Not everything can be mastered and not all at once. Not everything obvious on the surface will prove to be the truth. We may meet with disappointment and failure. But we cannot retreat from the renewal of thinking which has started. We cannot do this, if only because the future depends so much on the past. And our humanity is firmly connected with our ability to absorb the past, fully, honestly and with a clear heart—that is, to realize and understand it. In this sense, each one of us who wishes to make perestroyka a personal cause and main vocation, should become a sort of a loving memorial of knowledge, emotions and thoughts.

To reach the roots of the weeds of the past and tear them out do not mean to turn away from that time and to feel not part of what was for some a more comfortable, but always an irresponsible time. No! Stalin's time is an entire epoch, made up of a huge number of all sorts of internal, international, economic and social contradictions which determined the collisions of socialist construction in our country and the lives of millions of people.

The attempts to hide behind a fence, to cover oneself up, to see only oneself and to hear only one's own voice are dangerous in general. In order to overcome being accustomed to simplicity, to seeking simple but not complex reasons so that we'd be able to grasp where intolerance and cruelty come from, we must discuss those who are not here and try to understand them. We must understand everyone, without exception, and to try to penetrate, together with Stalin, the deepest secrets of that time, including the innermost secret of love and hatred for Stalin himself. It is, of course, very easy to denounce someone. It is easy to keep referring to the unpleasant past. But this is ease without knowledge, without tension. We'll never get to know ourselves if we fail to understand others and what was before us.

Therefore, the past needs an answer from everyone—those who lived honestly in the legendary 20s, 30s, 40s and 50s, who even then worked enthusiastically and fought heroically, those living now and those who will come later on. It is a great moral test and it has to be gone through. It is no use trying to tear the past in two—into the good and the bad, and to do it so as to record the good for our own and socialism's benefit leaving all the rest to Stalin. Nothing good will come out of it. We cannot escape from ourselves and we must acquire important knowledge from our difficult past for our future.

Lately, there has been outlined in our press an inclination toward cautious semitones, to a predetermined dosing of light and dark, toward balancing the good and the bad. Overdoing it either way would be no good. It is just as harmful to speak about "bad", rejecting the "good" as it is to confront the "particular" to the "general". And the other way round. But we must not put up fences, and establish open zones and new bans, even before the unprejudiced research starts. The more so that it is sometimes very hard to draw a line between the more and the less important, between idealization and dramatization. By the way, a scientist has no power to dramatize the past. The past does not depend on the historian at all—it was as it was. Whereas we depend on the past in everything—our society, all its patterns and we, ourselves, have been formed in it. That is why we should boldly enter the past—just as we enter our own home. It is absurd to fear one's own self.

Our good is mainly in that we became a country capable of taking, at long last, the decisive steps to mature and full socialism, in that we remain loyal to revolutionary ideals and hate all that betrayed and still betrays them, all that deformed socialism and continues to do so. At the same time, we realize that we cannot start perestroyka over and over again. Society must be De-Stalinized to the end. This, precisely, is the yardstick for the words and deeds.

In some articles on history one can sometimes discern the desire to reduce everything to reconsideration of separate persons, facts and events. This, of course, should also be done. This interests everyone. For example, at practically all my lectures I'm asked: "What is your approach to Bukharin?" What can be said? One hasn't to be a narrowly specialized pro historian, but simply a human being to say that state criminal Bukharin never existed. And then what? After that we need facts, only facts and all the facts.

And there is an obligatory condition—it is impossible to treat the past as if it were distilled water and to try to harmonize it even before. Without deep thinking about it the past may generate the most varied emotions, resuscitate the worst prejudices, offer examples of anything and determine a sort of "veracious untruth". Or a semitruth which is worse than a lie. Because, once we have torn the past into pieces, we can quite well turn these pieces into holy banners. The historical consciousness will become a worthy component of a scientific policy only when a rational analysis of the past gets the upper hand over subjective desires and emotions.

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of the economic failure in the 50s, 60s and 70s. The historians must reply, with appropriate profundity and rationalism, to the question:

"Why?" Yes, this is the obligation of science because nothing durable can be built on semihollow ideological ideas and because a predetermined attitude to social experience is not science.

But, we must confess that only recently we existed from one jubilee to the next; and there were more jubilees in our country than anything else. We ended the surplus of jubilees, but, being only human, we do enjoy the right to give the holiday tradition its due. Only how should we do it? Lenin classified jubilees amidst natural inevitabilities, but thought that a jubilee could also be rationally used to benefit the revolutionary cause, if we regard it as a pretext for critical self-analysis, as a time for pondering over the things we've as yet failed to do, or did badly, the things we are obliged to do—no matter how hard they are. And we'll do them! Therefore, let's follow Lenin's path.

The special and new meaning of the forthcoming jubilee, which is not just another anniversary, of the October Revolution, perhaps lies in the movement towards the goals that promise a better life for the Soviet nations and in the creation of an example worthy of everyone's attention.

Latvian Poet Views National Identity, Culture

PM181511 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 87 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Yanis Peters, poet and chairman of the Latvian SSR Writers Union Board, under the rubric "Our Moral Values: Unity of Equals"]

[Text] Riga—The return to Leninist democratic traditions in all spheres of life and the desire to destroy bureaucratic barriers and eradicate from the social consciousness negative remnants of the distant and recent past all have a single goal—the attainment of a fundamentally new quality in the development of socialism. This is demonstrated by the entire multifaceted life of the party and the people since the 27th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee's January and June (1987) Plenums.

In the age of the new thinking, questions connected with the Soviet land's international development in the humanitarian sphere lead to fruitful reflection, sometimes to polemical dialogues. The flowering of any of the USSR's peoples is inconceivable without the fair combination of the national and the international—that is clear to everyone today. Any manifestation of nationalism or chauvinism obscures the fundamental principle of our Soviet state, because we are nothing if not a voluntary union of 15 states and socialist republics.

I think that representatives of the social sciences and journalists do not do enough to emphasize in our civic consciousness the idea that each union republic is a sovereign state, with its own constitution, parliament, and government, anthem, flag, and coat of arms. The rights of the union republics have now increased in all spheres of life—to the point of establishing independent economic and cultural ties with foreign countries. Recently the union republics have increasingly frequently staged cultural festivals—on the Soviet Union's behalf—on all continents. As is well known, two republics—the Ukraine and Belorussia—are full UN members. The governments of foreign countries which have recognized the statehood of the USSR thereby also recognize the statehood of each union republic belonging to it, including Latvia, of course.

Naturally, our political enemies from certain Western radio stations whose programs are specially intended for Soviet listeners think completely differently. One of those radio stations' favorite methods is to wound the national feelings of USSR citizens by ceaselessly saying that belonging to the Soviet Union is tantamount to "affiliation," "annexation," or "incorporation." Another version used by our ideological opponents is that the national republics are part of... Russia. The psychological aim here is obvious: It is to instill in citizens a sense of oppression or inferiority, to distort national self-awareness and compromise internationalism by interpreting it as a concept signifying the repudiation of one's national identity and language. These radio broadcasts are doubly hypocritical: The broadcasts in Russian encourage great Russian chauvinism while those in the languages of the other peoples seek to seduce them by criticizing everything Slav and setting them against the Russians. This is a dishonorable game, to be blunt, but it would be naive to expect honor. After all, the last thing that reactionary foreign circles want is a qualitatively new socialism which ensures complete freedom of creativity and guarantees human rights. For many years they have tried with might and main not just to dupe the ordinary listener but above all to do everything to encourage those very forces which promoted stagnation and social injustice in our country.

That attempt is even clearer today. A weak, compromised socialism—that is the concern of our opponents. No normal person or worker abroad has any doubt about that now. That is my impression from conversations with people living in Western Europe, Asia, the United States, and Canada. The return to Lenin and desire to creatively combine Leninist revolutionary traditions with the urgent cause of restructuring require that we highlight the humanitarian basis of our state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—from the standpoint of the new thinking; that we emphasize the republics' common sharing of the wealth of their language, traditions, and culture in a single political and economic entity; the sharing of their specific features and common sense of patriotism in the development and prosperity of our motherland—the world's first socialist country. It was that sense that a group of Latvian writers recently brought back with them from the Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast, where a Latvian cultural festival was held on the theme of the 70th anniversary of Great October. The contact with the culture of the Altay people, numbering just a few tens of thousands, gave us Latvians a powerful creative impetus. There, in Altay Kray, we

again clearly appreciated the correctness of Lenin's thesis that democratic centralism can only really be achieved by means of autonomy in a large and nationally varied state. The Altay people not only preserve their people's traditions and folklore but have also created their own literature. U. Berzinsh and P. Bruveris, two Latvian poets who have mastered the basics of the Altay language, are embarking on the translation of Altay folklore and literary works from the original tongue. Meanwhile, our Writers Union, in conjunction with the Latvian State University named for Petr Stuchka, is organizing a Latvian language course in Riga for 30 students from various republics.

The economic and cultural ties of the peoples, just like everyday life, are inconceivable without a language of communication between the nationalities. In our country that is Russian, which would be no cause for discussion were it not for the fact that even now there are people who have seen fit to unearth the tsarist concept of "Russification" and to try to revive it nowadays. Whenever an unfortunate official or citizen who has lost his national allegiance forgets Lenin's ideas on autonomy and linguistic equality, this is grist to the mill of individuals of that kind. Our ideological opponents greedily clutch at every recurrence of a low standard of relations between nations to pour scorn on the republic's Latvian population by alleging, for example, an imaginary loss of nationality and statehood.

They, like the whole world, are well aware, of course, that Latvia's statehood is guaranteed in the long term by the formula "the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic," and it is for that very reason that they seek out our mistakes and instances of negligence and take a close interest in them. We must not forget even for a moment now that we are called on to take part in the creation of a qualitatively new society, one with no place for chauvinism or nationalism. But unfortunately, such phenomena can still be seen and felt at times today.

Modern socialist Latvia and the republic's people have inherited an internationalist stance and, to an equal extent, a healthy national dignity from their revolutionary riflemen and their revolutionary past. M.S. Gorbachev visited us in Riga last February and, after a meeting at the Museum of the Red Riflemen, wrote an inscription in the Honored Guests Book in which he rated highly the feat of the champions of the revolution.

Yes, the Latvian riflemen set a true example for us all: They fought steadfastly on the Civil War fronts for the statehood of the future Soviet peoples and for the statehood of Latvia and its people's socialist future, guaranteed them by Lenin, whose bodyguards the Latvian riflemen were destined to become. The Latvian riflemen did not lose their pride or strength of spirit even when the tyranny of the personality cult was at its height.

We inherited this country—present-day socialist Latvia—from the Latvian riflemen. We must improve it together with all the other Soviet republics, not as some sort of "annexed" or "incorporated" state, which is the idea that the representatives of the administration of a foreign country assiduously try to din into Latvians in their diplomatic games.

Soviet patriotism today means pride in the linguistic equality of our state, pride in the cooperation and collaboration among national cultures, and in the fact that no republic or people is the "most important" in our country. No one today will succeed in provoking me or interpreting demagogically what I have said here in my thoughts on the Russian language. I want to reaffirm that speaking faultless Russian in the conditions obtaining in our state does not mean abandoning one's native Latvian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Armenian, Georgian, Altay, or Chuvash language.

When we in Latvia urge people of other nationalities to learn Latvian if they wish, this does not counterpose our language to any other. In our multinational state we must, whenever necessary, willingly learn one another's tongue, be it Russian, Latvian, Kazakh, or Kirghiz, with a love and respect for and truly Leninist attitude toward each people.

In the age of restructuring, however, there must be no illusions on this question. Apart from Cultural Days, Cultural Weeks, and other events there is also everyday life, with its stores, buses, canteens, and polyclinics, where we, people of many nationalities, particularly in the national republics, do not always manage to maintain contact between nations. Why is that?

One reason is that for some time now insufficient attention has been paid to the everyday practical use of Latvian in the republic. Because, as usual, we do not have enough Russian-Latvian and Latvian-Russian phrasebooks, even though the demand for them is great (incidentally, during the Latvian literature days in Gornyy Altay we discovered the lamentable fact that no Altay-Russian dictionary has been published since... 1947), because the decision has still not been fulfilled on the provision of radio services in Latvia to all large auditoriums where performances are given in both languages: This would make it possible to use simultaneous translation. Furthermore, Latvia has a production association, the VEF, capable of producing such equipment, and not just for our republic.

It is a great pity that schools using Russian as the medium of education do not have enough qualified teachers of Latvian language and literature: These subjects are sometimes taught by... the physical education or art teacher.

To increase the standing of languages and thus the standard of inter-nation relations in our republic, the Latvian SSR Writers Union together with the Ministry of Education organized the first Language Festival in the Soviet Union. It featured Russian—as the language of communication between nationalities in our country—and Latvian, English, German, and French, which are

also studied in our schools. In the future a republic-wide festival will be held every other year, and we have already given thought to expanding it considerably in 1989: It will be more of a mass event and guests will be invited from Moscow, Leningrad, the fraternal republics, and from abroad. At the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Commission on National and International Relations, to which I belong, we put forward the proposal to set up in Riga permanent courses where each citizen of the republic, if he wishes, could learn Latvian, Russian, or a foreign language. People could go there for prompt consultations on languages, guidebooks about the republic, and phrasebooks. At the first session of this commission a recommendation was adopted to teach Latvian to Russian children and Russian to Latvian children from the age of 5 in preschool institutions. We propose setting up a regular Latvian language course on Latvian television and to divide large classes in schools into groups of 15-20 for Latvian language lessons. On the commission's initiative much will be done to raise the linguistic standard and improve the training of language teachers in schools and we shall try to increase students' interest in the history of Latvia and the entire country.

The rapprochement of the peoples is not aided by the "vague" and "imprecise" teaching of the history of the Latvian SSR in substandard textbooks. There have been too many blank spots in the history of the Latvian SSR and the entire Baltic. For example, a Latvian teenager is virtually incapable of telling his Russian counterpart why on Victory Day we lay a wreath only by the Eternal Flame at the Fraternal Cemetery in Riga and do not approach the statue to Mother Latvia. It was necessary to wait until 30 May 1987, the 70th anniversary of the revolutionary rebirth of the Latvian riflemen before, as befits the age of the new thinking and the improvement of conscience, we and the riflemen could say aloud to ourselves and our children: "There is only one motherland. It cannot be 'bourgeois'—be it Russia, Armenia, the Ukraine, or Latvia." The Freedom Monument, erected in 1935 and paid for by working people's money, was always considered a "bourgeois" one, despite the fact that in October 1944, during the liberation of Riga from Hitler's invaders, the soldiers of the Soviet Latvian division laid flowers at its foot—the foot of a monument inscribed: "To the Fatherland and Freedom." Paradoxical as it may seem, we told ourselves and the other Soviet peoples for many long years that the monument was unacceptable to us, forgetting that its creator—the sculptor K. Zale—took part in Lenin's plan for the use of monuments as propaganda. The progressive, socialist nature of this monument was visible even to the untrained eye. Talent simply would not allow K. Zale to create something like that in honor of K. Ulmanis, the Latvian autocrat of that time, who on 15 May 1934 dissolved the bourgeois parliament and arrested the Communists and social democrats. The Freedom Monument in central Riga was raised as a challenge to the authoritarian regime of that time.

I believe that there will always be fresh flowers by that monument, just as there will always be fresh flowers at the foot of Mother Latvia in the Fraternal Cemetery and by the monuments to the Red Latvian riflemen and the liberators of Riga—those sacred shrines remind us of the participation of the revolutionary section of the Latvian people in the liberation of other peoples from social and national oppression and of the fact that in the struggle to liberate Latvia from Hitlerism many thousands of Soviet soldiers of different nationalities died on its territory. It is the duty of every Latvian patriot to our entire great country—the USSR—to bow before these monuments.

Only a history with nothing left out can achieve the rapprochement of the peoples. By exposing the mistakes and distortions of the past and looking our history straight in the eye we will help those young people who feel an "inferiority complex" encouraged by those Western radio stations which inflame national discord. Because there are people who are influenced by those "well-wishers" today, when a struggle is under way in our country to realize socialism's ideals and to creatively combine Leninist traditions with the present-day process of economic and moral improvement. Those "well-wishers" have only one concern—to savagely distort socialism. They have equal disregard for the nationality of any citizen of our country and for our hopes and desires. They try very hard, because a man who has lost his national allegiance cannot contribute to the friendship of the peoples. He is simply incapable of friendship with anyone. He becomes a rootless cosmopolitan, a consumerist and pragmatist. I am reminded of that when I think about what happened by the Freedom Monument in Riga on 23 August when flowers brought by political speculators were laid at its foot alongside the flowers laid there by a pure and innocent schoolgirl.

At the end of these reflections I should like to recall a festive date in our history and on the calendar—30 December, the day of the USSR's formation. It is my personal view that we do not celebrate this occasion properly. After all, it is also the eve of the new year, when people's hearts are open in anticipation of the new, and a holiday of this kind could be turned into a display of Soviet patriotism and a demonstration of each people's traditions and culture. The press, radio, and especially television, which is particularly dull at New Year, could delight us all with the abundance of riches which the ethnology, folklore, ancient traditions, classic and modern literature, music, figurative art, and theater of each of our peoples contain.

I have a suggestion to make: that 30 December be declared USSR Peoples' Friendship Day and made a state holiday.

Economic

Statistician Views Machine-Building Ills

LD221904 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Soviet mechanical engineering, which is assigned a leading role in the re-equipment of the country's entire national economy,

is on the right path but still encounters many difficulties, Nikolay Belov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Statistics Committee, told journalists. He said that production of computer facilities, metal-cutting machine-tools with numerical programmed control and industrial robots had sharply increased since the early 80s.

At the same time, the output growth rates in the operation of the machine-building complex have slowed down this year. Sixty per cent of factories and plants fell short of the commitments assumed in the eight months of this year. The volume of the industry's output was affected by the introduction as of the start of this year of state output quality control (an extra-departmental control of the quality of goods).

To rectify the situation formed, the industry is being intensively transferred to a multi-shift work, which enables the equipment to operate at greater load.

The government allocates 1.8 times more funds for the advancement of the mechanical engineering complex in 1986-1990 as against the previous five-year plan period. Although the growth rates in the first year of the five-year plan period are slower than planned, they exceed the rates achieved in previous years.

The capacities to produce freight trunkline cars at a plant in Kalinin, large-size electrical machines at a transport machine-building plant in the city of Brezhnev, industrial robots at plants in Cherkassy and Sterlitamak, cars at the Volzhsky autoworks, walking excavators in Krasnoyarsk were put into service in the machine-building industry in 1986.

Official on Price Reform, Farm Subsidies

PM211601 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Sep 87 p 2

[Unattributed interview with L.A. Ayvazov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, under the rubric "Topical Interview": "Price: Incentive and Regulator. How Central Economic Organs Are Improving the Economic Management Mechanism of the Country's Agro-Industrial Complex"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In their letters to the *Selskaya Zhizn* editorial office many readers ask about the forthcoming price formation reform discussed at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. They ask for more detailed information on aspects of the reform in the context of the agro-industrial complex. L.A. Ayvazov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, today answers a number of their questions at the editor's request.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What are the essential features of the radical price formation reform, what are its aims, and what is its role in restructuring?

[Ayvazov] The radical restructuring of economic management and the transfer of enterprises to self-financing is impossible without radically reforming the entire system of prices—wholesale, retail, and purchase prices. Under the new economic management conditions it is essential to put a decisive end to underestimation of the role played by price formation in the management of the national economy and make prices an effective instrument to enhance social production efficiency, develop economic management methods, and intensify economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. This is the task set by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum.

It is planned to substantially increase wholesale industrial prices. They will reflect socially necessary expenditure and more fully evaluate live labor, raw materials, and natural resources as well as expenditure on environmental protection, social insurance, and cadres' professional training. This review of prices and industrial tariffs will be carried out without causing losses to agriculture or the population. How will this be done?

In previous years, as you know, agriculture has been fully compensated for any increase in wholesale prices and, in addition to this, there has also been a direct increase in purchase prices. The biggest increase was in 1983, when agriculture received R21 billion through prices and increases. Together with other economic and organizational measures, this ensured growth in agricultural production and procurements and improved the financial situation of the majority of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In 1983-1986 the average annual profit was R22.1 billion, as against R1.4 billion in 1979-1982. Total profitability over this period increased from 1.6 to 19.1 percent.

It is planned to increase purchase prices for agricultural products by R30 billion under the present reform. Part of this increase—R11.7 billion—is linked with the increase in wholesale prices for industrial products, while the rest is linked with the removal of subsidies for agricultural machinery, mineral fertilizers, and mixed feed, the increase in construction costs, the rise in transport tariffs, and the introduction of water supply charges. In short, agriculture will receive full compensation.

The reform of purchase prices will make it possible to create a unified, interconnected economic mechanism in the agro-industrial complex and transfer kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Until recently, the distribution and consumption system had its weak points and did not always stimulate a reduction in costs and an improvement in production quality. How do you intend to rationalize this system with the aid of prices?

[Ayvazov] The purchase prices introduced in 1983 ensure the normative level of profitability for all farms operating normally. However, these purchase prices have considerable shortcomings. The leveling cost-based method was long employed in the formation of these

prices. Prices basically followed the growth in agricultural expenditure. The number of price zones has increased from year to year. At present there are 98 for milk, 49 for cattle, and 68 for soft wheat.

The broad spread of the cost-based method has led to low prices in regions with relatively good natural and economic conditions for producing a certain type of product, while prices are high in regions with inferior natural and economic conditions. This approach to price formation conflicts with the need to improve production efficiency and has failed to stimulate resource-saving, cost-cutting, the siting of the most important types of agricultural production in the most favorable conditions, and the creation of large, specialized commodity production zones.

In order to eliminate these shortcomings, it is planned to revise the system of purchase prices for agricultural products, looking at it from a different standpoint and proceeding from the following basic principles.

First, the new prices must reflect socially necessary expenditure on the production and sale of output and contribute to creating the conditions for kolkhozes and sovkhozes to transfer to full economic accountability and self-financing. When determining the level of the new purchase prices, we must proceed from the average socially necessary expenditure on the production of output and the preferential stimulation of the main types of output in the most favorable specialized commodity production regions on the basis of introducing intensive technology and progressive forms of labor organization. High costs connected with a poor standard of farm management must not be taken into account.

Second we must ensure a further improvement in the zonal differentiation of purchase prices by enlarging the zones in view of the rational siting of agricultural production.

Third, we must introduce rental payments for kolkhozes and sovkhozes located in relatively more favorable conditions. A special USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee fund will be set up on the basis of these payments and will be used to strengthen the material and technical base of farms operating in inferior conditions.

Finally, we envisage sizable differentiation between purchase prices according to output quality. Farms' storage of produce will also be stimulated by prices.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] In many kolkhozes and sovkhozes the production of certain types of agricultural output is always unprofitable, while other types are produced at an unwarrantedly high profit. What changes do you propose to make in price formation to avoid this kind of distortion?

[Ayvazov] It is indeed true that every year many farms make a loss in producing certain types of output. Last year one in five farms across the country as a whole made a loss on grain and milk sales and virtually one in two made a loss on potato sales. Total losses in these products alone amounted to more than R1 billion.

Many are of the opinion that certain types of agricultural output yield an unwarrantedly high profit. For this reason, they say, purchase prices for these products should be reduced and those of less profitable products increased. This cannot always be done, unfortunately. Here is a typical situation. Last year kolkhozes and sovkhozes made the biggest profit on sunflowers—144 percent. Nevertheless, some farms have not shown any interest in increasing the production and procurement of this valuable oilseed crop. Why? Because, calculated per hectare of the sown area, the profit was insignificant. This also happened in the past. Total sunflower procurements have diminished with every 5-year plan as a result. In the 9th 5-Year Plan, for example, an average of 4.5 million tonnes were procured per year, in the 10th 5-Year Plan 3.97 million tonnes, and in the 11th 5-Year Plan 3.93 million tonnes. Purchase prices for this product have been considerably increased this year in order to give kolkhozes and sovkhozes a material interest in increasing production and procurement of oilseed crops.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the scale of the profit or loss does not depend only on price levels. It primarily depends on how the farm is run. Last year in Kostroma and Yaroslavl Oblasts, for example, the same listed prices for milk were given (R365 per tonne of first-class milk and R358 per tonne of second-class milk). The actual sale price (with markups) of 1 tonne of milk in Kostroma Oblast was R544 against R515 in Yaroslavl Oblast. But the profit level on milk in Kostroma Oblast was 9.4 percent, while in Yaroslavl Oblast it was 31.3 percent. Why? Because in Kostroma Oblast the prime cost of a tonne of milk was R105 higher. Farms in Yaroslavl Oblast sold only 60 percent more milk, but they made 4.2 times more profit on these sales than kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Kostroma Oblast.

Also last year, farms in Kaluga Oblast made large losses from sales of cattle meat—R3.8 million. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Smolensk Oblast, on the other hand, made a profit of R13.9 million. These results were achieved despite the fact that farms in Kaluga Oblast charged R23 more per tonne of meat. But in Smolensk Oblast the prime cost of a tonne of cattle meat was R324 lower.

When revising purchase prices, we will ensure they correspond more rationally to various types of agricultural output with regard to its use value (nutritional value and other quality indicators), production conditions, and the requirements of the national economy. It is intended to give priority incentive to grain production and procurement, as the basis of agricultural development, and it is also planned to use prices to encourage the development of livestock breeding and an improvement in output quality.

It is planned to ensure organic unity between purchase prices and state orders by stimulating economically valid production specialization and siting of the production of

staple types of commodities. Any increase in purchases must be envisaged, as a rule, primarily in regions where this product requires the least state expenditure. Agricultural procurements must be planned from the standpoint of their location's national economic efficiency. Prices will thereby act as a means of regulating agricultural production growth.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] The 27th CPSU Congress emphasized the need to make prices more flexible and link them not only with expenditure but also with products' consumer properties, taking popular demand into account. Judging by our trade in vegetables, fruit, and certain other products, nothing has changed. Yellowing cucumbers and green tomatoes often hang around in the stores and go to waste because prices remain static. What is the impediment to timely changes in seasonal prices in the light of demand and the development of market trade?

[Ayvazov] I do not feel I can agree with such a categorical claim that "nothing has changed" in the fruit and vegetable trade. Statistics show that in the 10th 5-year period an average of 17.2 million tonnes of vegetables were procured per year, in the 11th 5-year period 19.4 million tonnes were procured, and last year 20.9 million tonnes were procured. There has also been an increase in fruit and berry procurements. Per capita consumption of them has likewise increased.

But you are quite right to talk about yellowing cucumbers and green tomatoes in the stores and the large quantities wasted in the trade process, including because of insufficient price flexibility. What is the reason for this? The main reason is inability to trade in such delicate products and failure to react promptly to the rapidly changing trade and price situation. The price formation system with regard to fruit and vegetables is now much more democratic. Prices are set independently by local organs of power. Differentiated purchase and retail prices operate everywhere at present, at the time of mass fruit and vegetable procurements. In Moscow, in particular, retail prices for tomatoes go through 14 different stages throughout the year and fluctuate between R3.5 and 40 kopeks per kilogram, while retail prices for cucumbers vary between R3 and 50 kopeks at 12 different stages. If there is any change in the product's quality, trade organizations are obliged to change the prices accordingly. The state provides a heavy subsidy, as retail prices of potatoes and other vegetables are lower than the purchase prices. The subsidy is paid into trade organizations' funds for regulating seasonal fruit and vegetable prices. All that remains is to make skillful, better use of these funds to promptly and flexibly change the retail prices of these products.

It is well known that since last year kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been authorized to sell up to 30 percent of the planned volume of potato, fruit, and vegetable purchases and all above-plan produce in their own stores, at kolkhoz markets, and through consumer cooperatives. However, farms are not exercising this right actively enough. They have sold only 3 percent of fruit and berries and less than 2 percent of vegetables in this way.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] What will now be the principle in establishing prices for machinery and mineral fertilizers supplied to agriculture? What changes can we expect?

[Ayvazov] Two price levels are in operation for agricultural machinery and mineral fertilizers supplied to agriculture. There are wholesale industrial prices for the manufacturer of agricultural equipment and mineral fertilizers. There are also wholesale transfer prices for the same products, at which they are sold to agriculture. The former are higher than the latter. For example, the wholesale industrial price for a K-700-A tractor is R18,725 but the price is only R11,975 for agriculture; a Don-1500 combine harvester costs R38,000 and R12,500 respectively; and one tonne of double granulated superphosphate costs R162 and R68.5 respectively. The difference between wholesale industrial prices and wholesale transfer prices for agriculture is made up from the state budget in the form of a subsidy. In 1986 this differential with respect to machinery and mineral fertilizers amounted to R5 billion. In addition to this, agriculture is supplied with electricity, gas, mixed feed, and other products at preferential rates. As a result of this the present purchase prices do not fully reflect socially necessary expenditure. However, with the transition to intensive forms of expanded reproduction and the growth in agriculture's provision with resources, the subsidy system is resulting in kolkhozes and sovkhozes having less of an interest in fully utilizing all their resources, increasing labor productivity, and reducing output prime costs. That is why the 13th 5-Year Plan will abolish the two-tier price system for means of production, as well as all other forms of subsidies and preferential rates and prices for industrial products supplied to agriculture. Unified wholesale prices will come into effect that will correspond to the economically accountable interests of industrial sectors and agriculture alike, guaranteeing the latter definite results if these prices are used rationally. Under these conditions kolkhozes and sovkhozes will themselves determine which equipment and which prices for it suit them and which do not. They will not purchase more expensive equipment or equipment of inferior quality. This will force machine building enterprises to take serious measures to improve the equipment they manufacture and lower their prices.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] It is planned, as noted at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, to restructure the whole of our "price economy." You have already discussed how this will affect the interests of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. But will the population's interests be injured in any way?

[Ayvazov] The revision of prices and industrial tariffs, as I have already pointed out, will be carried out without causing any loss to agriculture or the state budget. The radical reform of the price formation system will create all the conditions for the extensive use of economic

accountability and the principle of self-financing in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing and other enterprises within the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee system. The population's interests will not be damaged in any way.

The revision of retail prices will bring them into line with socially necessary production expenditure, consumer properties and production quality, and market demands. The change in food retail prices will not lead to a reduction in consumption. As M.S. Gorbachev has noted, the change in prices will not only not lead to a decline in working people's standard of living but, on the contrary, will result in improved living standards for a certain category of working people and the fuller implementation of social justice.

All major changes in retail prices and tariffs affecting the population's standard of living will be broadly discussed throughout the country.

Development of Cooperatives Urged

PM211105 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Sep 87 p 2

[Economist M. Antonov article: "To Go One's Own Way"]

[Text] Until only a few years ago questions of economics were of interest primarily to a rather narrow circle of professional economists. Now almost everybody is engaged in heated discussions of them. It is not surprising that the discussions of economic problems which take place everywhere, and often develop spontaneously, primarily seek to answer two questions that are traditional for Russian literature and social thinking: "Who is to blame?" and "What is to be done?"

There are two trends that stand out in particular in the motley chorus of voices and, using the lighthearted approach of current affairs writer A. Strelyanoy, they are now becoming known as "cavaliers" and "merchants" ["kavaleristi" i "kuptsi"].

Back in the years of "war communism" the "cavaliers" tried to crush capitalism by a mighty cavalry charge, to move on to direct distribution of products, to socialism, discarding money and other such attributes of commodity production as so much useless garbage. Now they issue their theoretical declarations rarely and carefully—times have changed. But they occupy extremely strong positions in the practical management of the economy and, it seems, have no intention of surrendering them voluntarily. The "merchants," who ever since the New Economic Policy [NEP] times have advocated the development in every way of commodity-money relations without halting even in the face of consequences like unemployment and bankruptcy, are now unusually active in the press and on radio and television.

Many "merchant" economists give a perfectly firm answer to the question "Who is to blame?": our economic leaders, especially those at the very top, fired by caste arrogance and confidence in their own unsinkability and their total right to command, being above the law and above any criticism. They are almost illiterate economic ignoramuses, exaggerating beyond all belief the effectiveness of the so-called administrative, organizational factor.

Let us leave such descriptions of cadres to the conscience of those who coin them in such an offhand manner. I would like to say just one thing: These cadres shouldered tremendous burdens. And, regardless of everything, they led the country to the position of a leading world power. To pin on them all the blame for economic shortcomings would be making scapegoats of them.

But who is contrasted to these "ignorant bureaucrats"? Businesslike, competent, economically literate, and enterprising leaders, used to piously observing the ethics of business relations, leaders who understand people and show concern for them.

Are there many such leaders in existence today? It appears, alas, that we are just about to start nurturing them. Does this mean, therefore, that for the time being only the "merchant" ideologists themselves are capable of managing the economy and its subdivisions?

But let us examine the principles they intend to apply in raising the new leadership cadres, and how they answer the second question—"What is to be done?"

This is where a sort of game seems to begin, a desire to sweep aside ideological overcautiousness. It is claimed that any fears of "restoration of elements of capitalism" are ridiculous because the appearance and disappearance of classes from the historical arena are in no way consequential upon different management decisions.

I think all this is meant for gullible readers. The unrestricted development of commodity-money relations is certainly not a management decision, but a change in property relations and a transfer of power, in other words, fundamental changes which cannot fail to have an effect on society's social structure and the country's political system.

We are assured that the country ought to move further along the NEP path bequeathed by V.I. Lenin, while we—for some unknown reasons—have dismantled Lenin's policy of economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] socialism and replaced it with a voluntarist system of economic management.

In reality, however, everything was much more complex than that. NEP, in V.I. Lenin's opinion, was not an idyllic development of economically accountable socialism but remained a form of class struggle, an uncompromising struggle according to the "who-whom" formula. Lenin, combining boldness and decisiveness in policy with wise perspicacity, certainly did not rule out the possibility of the restoration of capitalism and therefore thoroughly thought out the conditions which ought to

rule out this danger. Any unrestrained development of commodity-money relations even nowadays would inevitably swiftly pose exactly the same questions; suitably amended, of course, in line with changed historical conditions. But the "merchant" ideologists refuse to see any of this.

But why do such ideas now prompt such a broad response? There are several reasons why. They include a healthy reaction to excessive administration by decree in the economy, sorrow at the widening gap separating our country from the advanced capitalist countries in many important avenues of scientific and technical progress, the people's living standards, which are still relatively low, the still unsolved Food Program, and, in many instances, deteriorating supplies of foodstuffs for the population...

Let me recall that, in the early 20th century, there emerged in the international and Russian workers movement the trend of "economism," which claimed that the working class has no need of a social revolution and all it needs do is wage a strike struggle to achieve a gradual wage increase of 5 kopeks per ruble. At that time V.I. Lenin ideologically routed "economism," but this ideology has proved uncommonly tenacious and apt to revive.

Unfortunately, the perception of man as just a worker ("work force," "labor resources") predominated in our country for a long time. Technocratic aspirations, which are now subjected to sharp criticism (especially at the 27th congress of trade unions) but are far from fully eliminated yet, became widespread. Contemporary "economists" and "merchants" are thinking about how to boost the economy while we ought to be setting in order the people's life, which has been disrupted in many respects. The "merchants" are tempting workers and kolkhoz members with the chance of earning an extra chervonets in their pay, but, as a goal, this is too insignificant to make it possible to rouse the whole people to achieve it. The people have always valued truth and justice immeasurably more than benefits counted in kopeks.

In the last few years literature has repeatedly voiced the belief that the time of the "cavaliers" has passed, never to return, and that the time of the "merchants" is upon us. At the risk of incurring the anger of both, I claim that the time of both "cavaliers" and "merchants" has passed. The struggle between "merchants" and "cavaliers" is a struggle between yesterday and the day before yesterday. The historical arena today sees the emergence of a new social type whose appearance was brilliantly foreseen by V.I. Lenin, who defined socialism as the system of civilized cooperative members.

For 65 years now Soviet social science has kept this idea of Lenin's under a bushel because it deals a deadly blow to the concepts of both "cavaliers" and "merchants." After all, no matter how much these two camps may have denounced one another, they were both equally infected by the virus of "economism." The only difference is that for "cavaliers" man is just a cog in the economy's machinery, an unprotesting performer of orders from above, while for "merchants" he is "economic man," pursuing only personal advantage. Both groups have an extreme fear of the workers' independence.

However, the contemporary Soviet man is not only a worker but also a builder of the new, most humanitarian, and fairest society, and he feels cramped in the clothing of "labor resource" tailored according to the patterns of "economism," whether of the "cavalier" or "merchant" variety.

In their statements against the "cavaliers," "merchants" make references to V.I. Lenin to substantiate to promotion of profit as the sole indicator of production efficiency. But this, to put it mildly, is not quite correct. In many of his works, and especially in the article "The Great Initiative" and his speech "The Tasks of Youth Leagues," V.I. Lenin warned against the danger of mercantilist sentiments. He believed that the most important task of Communists was the struggle "against the mentality and the habits of: I'm earning my profits, and I don't care about anything else." Talk to any one of our economic managers and he will list a multiplicity of legally dubious methods of making profits which are currently being practiced in the economy today. After all, the departmentalism which has been assailed by the press for decades is a consequence of the pursuit of maximum departmental profit. Therefore to pursue profit alone at the contemporary stage of our economic thinking means to doom the country to ruin.

The backwardness of the economic views held by the champions of unrestricted development of commodity-money relations is amazing. They still try to convince us that essentially the same economic laws, and the law of value in particular, operate under both capitalism and socialism with unbending rigidity. In reality, however, even under capitalism, purely economic laws are increasingly giving way to socioeconomic laws, especially in view of the ecological and other restrictions engendered by our time. The role of the social and human factors is enhanced further still under socialism. Furthermore, if we want not only to simply boost the volume of output but also to build a new society and pursue certain social goals, party leadership of the economy remains the paramount condition (even though the methods of such leadership may differ) no matter how widely commodity-money relations may be developed.

So the country is now at the crossroads of the following paths. To take the "cavaliers'" path would mean gradually descending to the position of an underdeveloped third-rank power. To rush down the "merchants'" path would mean creating a society of mercantilists, where everything is sold and bought and, ultimately, again falling prey to "capitalist sharks."

Therefore the only path befitting a great socialist country is the path of gradual implementation of Lenin's idea of socialism as a system of civilized cooperative members.

A firm foundation for advance toward this goal is provided by the 27th party congress decisions on the restructuring of the economy based on Lenin's idea of the tax in kind [prodnalog] and cooperative movement, and the documents of the CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) Plenums.

It is, therefore, not a matter of whether to develop commodity-money relations or not—this question has been affirmatively answered by life itself. It is a matter of whether this development will take the bureaucratic path, through the education of Soviet managers, or the democratic path, through the development of cooperative principles.

It would be pointless for us to engage in competition with capitalist countries according to capitalist yardsticks. We do not need to overtake the capitalist countries in terms of number of things per capita, but to create a humanitarian and fair society which could really set an example for the entire planet and spiritually captivate the world. This will be possible only when economists start thinking not only of rubles but also of human souls, when the meaning of life and the purpose of man become the supreme categories of economic science.

Agricultural

Results in Bukhara Oblast Criticized

NC220806 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1600 GMT 15 Sep 87

[Summary From Poor Reception] "The Bukhara Oblast party economic aktivs have met in Bukhara city. The raykom first secretaries and rayispolkom chairmen, as well as the leading officials and experts in the agro-industrial complex participated in the meeting and discussed how the CPSU Central Committee's decisions for the consistent use of the natural and economic potential in the agro-industrial field in the Uzbek, Tajik, and Turkmen SSR's were being realized. Comrade Urkinbayev, chairman of the Bukhara Oblispolkom, read a report.

"The meeting participants noted that the oblast's agricultural workers complied with the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, including those adopted by the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, to [words indistinct] and successfully realize the scientific tasks assigned to them. They have also moved to worthily mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution."

The agricultural workers have achieved a certain degree of success from their efforts. The cultivation and sale of grain, vegetables, fruits, and other foods by the agricultural establishments have increased.

"However, the participants noted that the use of the existing resources in the agricultural field is unsatisfactory and the pace of reconstruction in production and in the agro-industrial field is slow. A number of leading officials have not abandoned the methods used in the past. [sentence indistinct] Contemporary methods have not been applied in the effort made to reorganize work. Resources have been used unproductively and the initiatives made in agriculture have failed to yield the expected results."

Cotton and potato harvesting is presently the main task. The farmers have produced abundant quantities of cotton, which is successful realization of their socialist obligations, and a number of rayons have already started harvesting. However, the measures required during the harvest season are being realized at a very slow pace, regardless of the decision adopted by the farmers in Bukhara Oblast to use 2,200 cotton harvesting machines to facilitate their work.

"The farmers in Bukhara have to eliminate their drawbacks as soon as possible. Their production last year was 118,000 tons less than what they should have sold to the state. The priority task of the party committees and the agro-industrial organs is to take measures to guarantee quicker cotton harvesting, [words indistinct], and channel the harvested cotton to the state depots.

"The meeting also discussed important matters related to the development of the oblast's agro-industrial complex and the shortcomings in the work carried out by the land reclamation workers and irrigation experts."

It was noted that the serious problems in developing livestock breeding have not been removed. The level of the oblast's livestock breeding products is unsatisfactory and these shortcomings have to be resolved. The party organizations and the Soviet and economic organs must control the application of scientific and technical measures in livestock breeding and concern themselves with the economic developments in all the agro-industrial fields.

The meeting participants focused significant attention on the need to create the conditions required for productive work in the oblast with a view to upgrading the socialist competition for marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

"The communists must concern themselves with the daily work of the rural workers, the construction of houses, the development of villages and towns, and other social problems. A significant effort is required to promote ideological, political, and educational work. Mobilization is needed to help the workers carry out [words indistinct] and productive work with the aid of modern technical equipment and resources available in the agro-industrial field."

Grain Harvest Figures Reported

Khmelnitskiy, Chernigov Oblasts

AU221035 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Sep 87 p 1

[RATAU report: "Grain for the Motherland"]

[Excerpts] Khmelnitskiy Oblast farmers have fulfilled the plan for the sale of grain to the state. The deliveries have totaled 800,000 metric tons of grain. The plan for the procurement of valuable winter wheat varieties has been overfulfilled.

The per-hectare grain yields averaged 37 quintals. Such yields were obtained for the first time. [passage omitted]

The farms have provided themselves with seeds, and have increased fodder stocks. In preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Great October, the rural toilers are continuing to sell grain to the state.

Chernigov Oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes have delivered to grain reception enterprises 425,000 metric tons of grain, or more than targeted. The winter wheat and rye procurement plan has been overfulfilled. [passage omitted]

The oblast farms have provided themselves with seeds, and are replenishing fodder stocks. They are continuing to sell grain to the state.

Cherkassy Oblast

PM221355 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 22 Sep 87 p 1

[S. Luzgan report: "Backing for the Initiative"]

[Excerpt] Cherkassy Oblast—[passage omitted] The oblast has threshed on average more than 42 quintals of grain, including more than 51 quintals of winter wheat, per hectare of grain and pulse crops (excluding corn). The wheat fields of the grain growers in Khristinovskiy, Mankovskiy, Cherkasskiy, Monastyrishchenskiy and Zvenigorodskiy Rayons were particularly productive. They obtained 63.1-55.6 [figures as published] quintals of high-quality grain from each hectare. It is possible not only to fulfill the current year's plan but also to sell up to 100,000 tonnes of grain over and above the target. Today the farms of half the rayons are delivering above-plan output to the grain elevators over and above the plan. [passage omitted]

Lithuania Fulfills Plan

PM221125 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 87 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Into State Granaries"]

[Excerpt] On 21 September Lithuanian SSR farmers fulfilled the plan for grain sales to the state. Some 429,000 tonnes of grain has been poured into the motherland's granaries—considerably more than planned. The republic's farms have fully provided themselves with winter rye seeds. [passage omitted]

Belorussia: Mogilev Oblast

PM221123 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 87 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent A. Ulitenok report: "Not Only According to Plan"]

[Excerpt] Mogilev Oblast—The Belorussian grainfield is generous this year. An average of approximately 35 quintals of grain is being obtained. The republic State Statistics Committee has reported that five out of the six oblasts have coped with the plan for grain sales to the state. Grain purchases are continuing. There are no farms with empty granaries in Mogilevskiy Rayon. Almost 50 percent more grain than usual will be harvested. [passage omitted]

Media Report 20-22 Sep Developments

LD230250 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, for 20-22 September. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

20 September

One out of every five hectares of bread grain crops in Orenburg Oblast remains unharvested in conditions of incessant rain. Thousands and thousands of inhabitants of villages, workers' settlements and towns are out in the fields along with the grain growers. (0000)

The growers of Irkutsk Oblast are gathering in the harvest under difficult conditions. Grain crops have as yet been threshed on just a third of their total sown area. However, many machine operators in the oblast are working well. Grain yields are high—up to 30 quintals of grain per hectare. Now the growers are making every effort to gather in the harvest in its entirety. (0400)

Grain harvesting is coming to an end in Tuva. Farmers are having a hard time, since the cereal crop, although ripe, is showing stunted growth. There is frequent rain and dust storms. Harvesting goes on around the clock. On the whole, not a bad crop has been grown. Efforts are being made simultaneously to lift all the potatoes and harvest the cabbages and other vegetables. (0600)

The Siberian harvest is giving cause for alarm as weather forecasters warn of frost and sleet in Western Siberia. In Buryatiya, less than one-half of the required fodder stocks have been laid in. (0100)

Of 28,000 hectares planted with potatoes in Kemerovo Oblast, only 5,000 hectares have been picked. There is much complaint about the rain, but this could have been expected and those farms harvesting when they can are doing well. Others are merely waiting for the weather to improve and for help from town dwellers. Potatoes are arriving late in shops and stores, where they are in short supply. There is no one to bring them out of the villages. (0100)

Cereal harvesting is virtually over in Ryazan Oblast, despite the rain. The yield is 21.5 quintals per hectare. In Starozhilovo Rayon, the figure is almost 30 quintals per hectare. In the Kuzbass, cereal crops have been harvested from a further 12,000 hectares. This operation was carried out in 24 hours, and is the best result over the last 10 days. Kemerovo Oblast's Belovo Rayon has met its plan target for grain sales to the state. The yield was over 20 quintals per hectare, despite the difficult conditions. A massive drive to lift potatoes has started in Omsk Oblast. The first 1,000 hectares have been cleared. Thousands of nonfarmers are helping in the operation. (1100)

In the Altay, more than 80 percent of the grain and pulse crops has been threshed; in Krasnoyarsk Kray, less than half has been threshed; in Kemerovo oblast,the state of affairs is almost the same; in Novosibirsk Oblast, it is a little better. (Moscow Television Service in Russian, 1430)

In Moscow Oblast, somewhat more than a half the harvesting was done by mid-September. But in other oblasts, such as Tambov Oblast, only 20 percent of the potato crop has been harvested. In Bryansk Oblast, which has the largest potato field in the nonblack soil area, 14 percent has been harvested; 23 percent in Tula Oblast; 31 percent in Gorkiy Oblast, 19 percent in the Mordovian ASSR. Kirov Oblast has fulfilled the plan for sale of bread grain to the state, having delivered more than 340,000 tonnes of grain to the granaries. (1500)

In Buryatiya, bread grain crops have been harvested from only one-third of the total area and night frost—with temperatures falling to minus 6 degrees centigrade—is forecast. (1800)

21 September

Kazakhstan's farms today began delivering their 10 millionth tonne of grain to the elevators. The weather situation has caused particular difficulties in Kustanay, North Kazakhstan, and Kokchetav Oblasts, where everything possible is being done to secure the harvest. (0600)

Today farmers in Lithuania fulfilled the plan for sales of bread grain to the state: 429,000 tonnes of grain has been poured into the state's granaries; this is much more than the plan target. farms in the republic have full stocks of winter rye seeds. (1700)

Mass potato lifting has begun in Omsk Oblast. A second bread grain harvest has been cleared from the first thousands of hectares. Winter crop seeds are now being sown. This year, potatoes have been harvested on over 17,000 hectares (2300)

22 September

The 250,000th tonne of cotton will be delivered in Uzbekistan today. (0001)

The volume of grain sold to the state in Omsk Oblast is approaching a million tonnes. Wheat comprises about 800 tonnes of it. The first 100,000 tonnes of cotton have been delivered in Tajikistan. (0204)

In Saratov oblast, 6.5 million tonnes of maize silage have been laid in, which is 2 million tonnes more than last year. (0400)

The harvest is proceeding with difficulty in the virgin lands of Kazakhstan. A report today from the republic's State Statistics Committee states that last week grain was reaped from only 1.5 million hectares. In good weather, the machine operators in the virgin lands reaped grain from as much in a single day. But today, bread grain in Kazakhstan had been treshed from 20 million hectares. This is 87 percent of the total quantity. The windrows have been gathered from 18 million hectares. A huge area of 5.5 million hectares remains unharvested, and the long drawn out rainfall is continuing. To prevent the harvest from being lost, many combine harvesters and trucks have been sent to the virgin lands. The machine operators are working round-the-clock shifts on every field. This will solve the problem, to a certain extent. The sale of grain to the state is continuing. (1500)

Scientific

Further Reportage on 'Mir' Complex

Cosmonauts Continue Work

LD181252 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the mission control centre:

Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov are completing their work week on board the orbital complex Mir.

In the past days the crew were chiefly engaged in carrying out geophysical research. Photography was done of the southern areas of the Soviet Union's territory, in particular of the Ukraine, the regions along the Volga and Kazakhstan. The cosmonauts have also undergone a fresh medical check.

Work is continuing with the orbital observatory Roentgen within the framework of the international astrophysical research programme. Its telescopes installed in Kvant (quantum) module are trained today at the Crab Nebula.

The aim of these experiments is the calibration of telescope detectors. The calibration is necessary for the correct determination of the spectrum of the roentgen radiation of supernova in the Large Magellanic Cloud which was for the first time registered from board the complex Mir on August 10, 1987.

According to the plan of work with the automatic transport ship Progress-31 the cosmonauts started loading it with used equipment.

Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov feel well.

The flight is proceeding normally.

'Kvant' Registers X-Ray Emission

LD221622 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—A TASS correspondent reported from the mission control centre. The Soviet research complex "Mir" piloted by Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov continues its flight.

As it was already reported, X-ray telescopes mounted on "Kvant" module registered on August 10 for the first time an unusually hard X-ray emission in the area of a supernova in the Great Magellanic Cloud. Subsequent observations conducted with high-precision orientation of the orbital complex confirmed that the supernova was the source of X-ray emission. Observation of the evolution of the spectrum of that most interesting astrophysical object will be continued after the calibration of telescopes' detectors.

More than 300 sessions of observation of X-ray sources was conducted from board the orbital complex since last June. 115 sessions out of that number were conducted to observe the supernova. Scientific information received by telemetric channels in real time mode is processed at the institute of space research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and then related to scientific centres of Britain, the Netherlands, the FRG and the European Space Agency.

The automatic transport ship "Progress-31" was separated from the manned complex "Mir" after the completion of the programme of joint flight at three hours 58 minutes Moscow time today.

All the work planned for that period, including unloading, adding fuel and oxidizing agent to capacities of the basic unit, as well as pumping drinking water has been completed. The trajectory of the complex's movement was corrected by means of an engine of the transport ship.

The process of separation was controlled by experts from the mission control centre and cosmonauts Romanenko and Aleksandrov.

The reports of the crew and telemetric data indicate that the flight is proceeding normally.

'Progress-31' Separates

LD221525 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] The flight of the "Mir" scientific research complex continues. It is manned by Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov.

Today at 0358, after the completion of the joint flight program, the separation of the "Progress-31" automatic transport vessel from the manned complex was carried out.

All the work planned for this period, which included the unloading, the topping up of the fuel tanks of the base bloc with fuel and oxydizer, and also the pumping in of drinking water, was fully completed.

'Burned' in Atmosphere

LD221941 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] The unmanned cargo ship "Progress" has undocked from the orbital complex "Mir" with two Soviet cosmonauts on board, Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov. The cargo ship has burned [as heard] in the dense (?layers) of the atmosphere away from shipping lanes. At the beginning of last month the "Progress" delivered fuel, new equipment, water and food, also materials for experiments, to the "Mir" orbital complex.

Military

Yazov Visits Guards Tank Regiment

PM220922 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Krasnaya Zvezda* in Russian on 17 September 1987 in its First Edition carries on page 2 under the heading "The Day is Past—We Sum Up the Results" a 1,900-word report from Moscow military district by Guards Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Pakhomov, commander of a Guards Tank regiment of the Yu.V. Andropov Guards Tank Kantemirovskaya Division. Pakhomov discusses the weaknesses uncovered during training exercises in his regiment and the responsibilities of officers in overcoming defects in combat readiness. He adds: "USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov recently worked in our regiment. Noting a number of serious shortcomings in the organization of training and service, he drew attention, in particular, to these problems: our officers still deal freely with regulation provisions on the organization of training, service, and the personnel's daily life. They do not set an example, as behoves us as initiators of the exemplary execution of service duties."

General on Role of Tanks in Modern Warfare

PM181021 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Sep 87 p 1

[Special correspondent Yu. Dmitriyev article: "Stronger Than Armor. Today Is Tank Troops Day"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The Order of Lenin, Order of the October Revolution, and Order of the Red Banner Military Academy of Armored Troops named for Marshal of the Soviet Union R.Ya. Malinovskiy... This is a real forge for highly skilled tank troops cadres. [passage omitted]

...The new intake of students started their academic year in these first few days of September. Until yesterday they commanded subunits or held responsible staff positions. Many of them have come to the academy wearing combat orders and medals on their chests. In recognition of exemplary service to the motherland or heroic service as part of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan.

The academy has an excellent material base of both in-house and field equipment. Extensive use is made of modern computers, audiovisual equipment, and the latest facilities in training the students.

The academy is a major scientific and educational center for tank troops. It employs a cohesive teaching collective consisting of many candidates and doctors of sciences, professors, and senior lecturers.

Let us hear what Academy Chief Colonel General V.M. Gordiyenko has to say:

The role of armored troops in contemporary battle has risen substantially. This is because the tank troops combine combat qualities like high firepower, mobility, and survivability which are so necessary in contemporary warfare and which, in their totality, constitute their strike power. This is precisely why tank troops have quite correctly become the main strike force of ground forces in all modern armies. The U.S. Army, in parallel with the development [razvitiye] of nuclear and new conventional weapons, is intensively building up its tank pool both quantitatively and qualitatively. By way of an example, the U.S. Army had 4,200 tanks in 1970, 7,500 in 1980, and plans to have about 9,000 by 1990.

At the same time, while speaking of the increased role of tanks and tank troops, it is necessary to note another important feature—the rapid quantitative and qualitative growth of the arsenal of antitank weapons and the wide spread of guided high-accuracy antitank weapons abroad. The quantity of antitank weapons in NATO formations has increased tenfold compared with World War II. Of course, this makes the combat use of tanks extremely complex and could result in considerable tank losses unless effective countermeasures are taken.

It can be asserted that tanks have great potential to further enhance their combat efficiency on the basis of the modern achievements of science and technology. Hence I believe that, both now and in the foreseeable future, there is no alternative to the tank as the leading weapon system of ground forces. Especially in view of the fact that tanks and tank troops are strong not only on the offensive but also in defense. They are capable of quickly becoming an armored shield in the aggressor's way, repulsing the strike by his forces, and moving on to the offensive.

Modern tanks have reliable protection, great firepower, and high maneuverability, mobility, and reliability. For example, the combat efficiency of our T-72 tank has increased by a factor of more than 2.5 compared with the T-34, the best tank of World War II. Tank troops now include motorized rifle, rocket, and artillery subunits and units, air defense subunits, and engineering and other specialized troops. This enables tank units to make fuller use of the combat potential of their machines and gives them independence. There is one more fact which I consider important. Today's generation of Soviet tank troops is made up of ideologically committed servicemen boundlessly devoted to the motherland, skilled in the complex military profession, and perfect masters of terrifying combat equipment. These are servicemen ready to obey any order by the motherland.